UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S NOMADIC EDUCATION POLICY ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FULBE WOMEN AND GIRLS

BY

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The undersigned certify they have read and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled: **Analysis of Nigeria's Nomadic Educational Policy on the Development of Fulbe Women and Girls** submitted by **Lantana Martha Usman** in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of **Doctor Of Philosophy** In Educational Administration and Leadership.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to almighty God,

To my beloved and cherished sons,

Ibrahim Louis Jobin

Magaji Charles Ledju

And to their father, beloved, Ibrahim M. Zaki

For their trust, love, patience, support, confidence and understanding in me. They are forever a blessing in my life.

To my father, Yabo Gaiya and mother, Lami Gaiya, and my "mom" Reverend Sister Mary Dareca who had foresight on female education and gave me all their support . May they reap the fruits of their labor by this degree.

Who will do better than I did
I have done so much, for so long
With so little, I am now qualified
To do anything with nothing.

ABSTRACT

The dilemma of female nomadic education within Nigeria's policies and politics inspired this study. The focus on nomadic Fulbe women questions the extent of their gains towards equal educational opportunities within developmental social policies such as education since the inception of the Nomadic Education policy in 1986. The purpose of the study was, within a gender lens, to investigate and provide insights into the implementation and outcomes of the education policy for the social and economic development of nomadic women and girls.

Based on an ethnographic feminist approach, data for the study were collected at nine Fulbe encampments using interviews (focus and individual), observation, documentary sources, video and photographs. The data highlighted issues and information on the causes and course of the policy implementation from all the participants involved.

First, the thematic analysis explored the role and expectations of policy makers, women and girls, teachers and the curriculum in relation to the relevance, expectations, implementation and outcomes of the policy. Then a policy analysis guided by traditional social and political policy approaches was undertaken. This raised questions about the policy intents with reference to assimilation and loss of language. Subsequently, the data were re-analyzed using an adaptation of FAWE's Gender Education Policy Model (1998).

Conclusions drawn from the study outlined the continuing need for the education of women and girls in nomadic populations like that of the Fulbe. Importantly, that the policy makers reconsider the specific religious circumstances of the Muslim Fulbe women and girls and adapt their implementation model to reflect this reality, that proposed curriculum developments be completed but with more consideration for the lives of the females, that girls' schools or classes be supported more with female teachers to ensure coherent checks on girls and women's attendance regularly, that school timetables take cognizance of the local market days, that radio programs and study groups be extended, and that the oversight of the implementation be re-examined to ensure increased efficiencies and effectiveness. These recommendations are meant to challenge the policy's effectiveness and efficiency, and provide for the political feasibility of support for policy innovation, renovation or extensions.

A song in Fulfulde by nomadic Fulbe women on the joy of motherhood in breastfeeding, at a UNICEF training workshop at Jangore in Lau Local Government, Taraba State of Nigeria 31st October to 3rd November 2000.

Raubeji kokke kosam inna (2x)

(Chorus)

Dan beldam.........Kosam inna

Dan jamam...........Kosam inna

Dan baddam.......... Kosam inna

Dan butu.............. Kosam inna

Raubeji kokke kosam inna (2x)

(Chorus)

Beddai andal...........Kosam inna

Kanjam tan........... Kosam inna

Haa yaaki...............Kosam inna

Lebbi jeego ....Kosam inna

I feel honored to be called a feminist. I would hope young women really examine what the word means. To throw out the word itself would be to dishonor all the women who have gone before us. We need to reclaim, invigorate and update the word. If I have learnt anything from all the great feminists before me, it's that it is a chain and we just keep widening the circle.

Eve Ensler. Time (Canadian Edition), 158 (11), 17th September 2001

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY..1

The Nomadic Education Policy..3

Purpose of the Study..6

Study Focus.. 8

Research Questions..9

Significance of the Study 12

Limitations of the Study 13

Delimitation.. 13

2. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY.. 14

The History, Culture and Traditions of the Fulbe Nomads in Nigeria..................14

The Origin of Nomadic Fulbe..16

The History of Fulbe nomads in Nigeria.. 20

Fulbe Migration.. 23

Fulbe Women and Girls during Migration..24

Economic Significance of the Fulbe Nomads..26

Contributions of Nomadic Fulbe Women and Girls

to the Non-formal Economy..27

The role of the women and girls in dairy management 27

Food preparation for commercial purposes 29

Fulbe women as traders 30

Traditional Role and Status of Fulbe Women and Girls 31

Traditional Education of Nomadic Fulbe Women and Girls..........33

Domestic training..........34

Training in marketing and monetary economics..........35

Cognitive learning and training..........36

Moral Education..........38

Quranic Education..........39

Western Education for Women and Girls in Northern Nigeria..........44

Educational Policies for Nomadic Education..........48

The Nomadic Education Policy..........49

The Nomadic Education Policy Implementation..........50

The schooling of Fulbe nomadic girls..........51

The pilot adult education action plan..........53

3. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION MODELS AND THE NOMADIC EDUCATION POLICY..........59

The Orthodox Policy Approach..........59

Orthodox Policy Implementation Model..........65

The Assimilation..........70

The Accommodation..........72

Multiculturalism..........74

The Participatory Policy Approach..........75

The Indigenous Knowledge Approach..........81

Gender Critique of the Nomadic Education Policy Implementation..........87

Early marriage..........92

Religion..........94

Cultural myths and beliefs.......................................96

Class perception of females.......................................98

Distance to schools.......................................98

School related factors.......................................99

Cost benefit impact of female schooling.......................................100

Domestic roles and expectations of women and girls.......................................101

A Generic Based Gender Educational Policy Implementation 103

4. RESEARCH METHOD.......................................110

Orientation of the Study....................................... 110

Research Design....................................... 114

Study Participants.......................................116

Fulbe sites.......................................116

Fulbe women and girls as well community leaders 117

The curriculum developers and educators.......................................117

The policy makers.......................................117

Data Collection Techniques.......................................118

Interviewing.......................................118

Focus group interviewing.......................................119

Observation.......................................121

Field notes.......................................122

Documentary sources.......................................123

Video and photographs.......................................123

Data Collection in Practice.......................................123

Data Analysis.......................................126

Trustworthiness..128

Ethical Consideration of methods.......................................129

Respect of autonomy..130

Nonmalfesance...131

Beneficence..131

Confidentiality..132

Fidelity...132

Summary...133

5. THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE CAMPS..............................134

The Nomadic Fulbe Camps...136

Geography..137

Social organizations...139

Transportation 139

Camp administration 140

Women and girls in religious practices.................................141

Females and social activities...142

Women and Girls in Economic Activities.................................144

Educational Experiences of the Nomadic Education for women and girls......146

Setting...146

Organization of schools...147

Students and classroom management.......................................149

Instructional materials..150

Curriculum..151

Literacy classes for women...152

Workshops and seminars 154

Radio and television educational programs.........................155

6. TRADITIONAL POLICY ANALYSIS...158

Expectation of the Nomadic Education Policy.............................161

Empowerment..164

Economic empowerment.......................................165

Social empowerment..170

Extent of Implementation 173

Policy outcomes...177

The Relevance of the Nomadic Education Policy........................179

Curriculum..179

Pedagogy..182

Language of instruction.. 184

The teachers.. 186

Implementation Strategy and Nomadic Education Policy..................187

Outcomes of the Nomadic Education Policy...............................193

Social empowerment of women and girls...............................194

Economic empowerment...198

7. FEMINIST POLICY ANALYSIS...202

Data application of Gender Educational Policy Model (FAWE, 1998)..206

8. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION..............................233

Summary of major findings..233

Conclusion..237

Recommendations..240

References……………………………………………………………..…..251

Appendix…………………………………………………………...……280

LIST OF FIGURES

PAGE

1 Map of Nigeria showing the location and seasonal movement of the Fulbe nomads……………………………………………………………………………15

2 The Expected Relationship between a Compensory Educational Program and Educational Achievement……………………………………………………………..67

3 Adopted Implementation Model of the Nomadic Education Policy ……………69

4 Generic Gender Educational Policy Implementation Model……………………109

5 Map of Nigeria showing the location of grazing camps covered in the study….138

6 Gender Educational Policy Model (FAWE,1998)………………………………..208

LIST OF TABLES

1 Enrolment of Nomadic Primary School Pupils in Nigeria by Gender 1990-1998………………………………………………………………………..51

2 Statistics of Nomadic Primary Schools in Nigeria 1990-1999 ……………………52

3 Drive to establish Nomadic Adult Literacy Classes 1996-997…………………….56

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Educational development has been a priority in Nigeria since her independence in 1960. Successive governments have affirmed this commitment through social policies and actions for the development and improvement of education at various levels. Every year it is evident in major budget provisions made by the federal and state governments which are meant to address the educational needs of Nigerian citizens.

In 1969, nine years after independence, the first National Curriculum Conference took place in Lagos. Through a review of the inherited regional curriculum and the entire educational system, it sought to develop a unified and integrated educational policy for the country. It was a step towards phasing out elements of the British colonial educational legacy which were viewed as foreign, non-functional and utopian to the needs and aspiration of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria (Fafunwa, 1974). These perceptions stirred a general desire for the development of an indigenous educational policy for Nigerians by Nigerians. According to Pal (1998) policies are "documentary statements with intended objectives often referenced to governments" (p. 12). Hence, in 1977, the first National Policy of Education (NPE) was developed for implementation in all the states of Nigeria.

The NPE (revised in 1981) is based on the following objectives: (a) the inculcation of national consciousness and national unity; (b) the inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society; (c) the training of the person in the understanding of the world around him/her through training in scientific and critical thinking; (d) the acquisition of appropriate physical skills, abilities and mental and social competencies for the individual to live productively in his or her society and to contribute to its development. In order to achieve these objectives the federal government of Nigeria has committed huge sums of money and provided instructional facilities for the implementation of all educational programs. A prominent Nigerian educationist, Fafunwa (1984) commented that

> The policy is based on the integration of the individual into a sound and effective citizen, with equal opportunities to all citizens of the nation at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school system. The central theme of the policy is the physical, intellectual, spiritual, emotional and ethical integration of the individual into a complete man or woman. (p. 97)

However, the federal government, through various commissions has to some degree controlled the management of educational programs. These commissions and federal appointed committees are responsible for the evaluation and monitoring of the effectiveness of educational programs in terms of the availability of materials, accessibility so as to ensure equality, and the quantity and quality of educational programs. It is through these processes that information concerning the non-involvement of the nomadic population in educational activities was identified. This led in December 12, 1986 to the establishment by the federal government of the Nomadic Education Policy with a focus on the fishery nomads of the south and cattle nomads of northern Nigeria. Nomadic education is a conscious attempt by the federal government to address the issue of access to education for those segments of its population which could not be reached easily with education on account of their location, occupation, life-style and work roles. It was aimed at bringing the estimated 12 million nomadic population into contact with modern education. The primary objective of such a gigantic policy was to conscientize the nomads through education to understand their environment better, use their facilities in a more productive way that would enhance their occupation, guarantee better output, and ensure a higher standard of living for them in particular and the society in general (Ezeomah, 1991).

Of the various educational policies directed to the development of education in Nigeria, the Nomadic Education Policy appears most unique in introduction, implementation and utilization in terms of the recipients. It is unusual because it is an area that never received attention in the past, partly due to the erroneous impression that the nomadic herdsmen did not understand the value of western education, and the widespread belief that the nomadic population's occupation and mode of operation was too migratory to consider settled life which was seen as a necessary prelude to being receptive to western education.

The Nomadic Education Policy

Nomadic education is defined as the formal and informal education provided for the nomadic peoples within their cultural context as well as the formal education provided for the nomads by the national and international agencies. It is aimed at promoting the culture of the nomadic peoples and equipping them with relevant knowledge and skills to help them develop themselves and their communities (Ezeomah, 1995).

The period 1985-1995 witnessed the federal government's intervention in the education of nomadic peoples. The intervention was backed up by a series of research studies supported by the federal government and UNESCO/UNDP funding which spanned over a decade (1976-1988). Comprehensive studies were conducted, and were used to develop the policy guidelines for the education of the nomads. Thus the concept of a “Fair Deal for the Nomads” was proclaimed by the then Minister of Education, Professor Jibril Aminu, on the 12 December 1986 under the leadership of the military government of General Ibrahim B. Babangida. It resulted in the Nomadic Education Policy, a major social policy of education.

The general objectives of the Nomadic Education Policy are based on those of the National Policy of Education with the general aim of equality of education for all citizens. Specific objectives are classified into short-term and long-term objectives. The short-term objectives of the policy are based on acquisition of basic functional literacy and numeracy. These skills will enable the nomads to be able to read and write those things that affect their civic privileges and responsibilities (occupational roles like reading and using useful directions and being able to read and understand tax receipts), obtain instruction on human and animal health and disease treatment and prevention, and communicate with government functionaries and friends. Long-term objectives are the acquisition of knowledge and skills (a) to improve their income-earning capabilities through mixed farming, land acquisition and the development of grazing management and modern scientific livestock breeding techniques (b) to raise healthy families and (c) to improve their general standard of living. The Nomadic Education Policy provides them with the means to adapt to a changing environment and achieve personal and professional autonomy, a key factor in the cultural, social and economic future of nomadic populations (Tahir, 1998).

Three selected universities were appointed and function as Nomadic Education Centres. They include the centre at the University of Jos, whose primary function is to conduct research on nomadic life styles, the role of women, their occupations, economic activities, and attitudes to education. The centre at Usman Dan Fodio University in Sokoto uses this research data to develop the nomadic curriculum, reading and teaching materials, teacher training materials, and outreach programs. The third centre at the University of Maiduguri receives data from the University of Jos to develop and maintain nomadic education teacher training programs, and to develop and maintain outreach programs including electronically-mediated ones in collaboration with other centres, the National Teachers Institute and the National Educational Technology Centre (National Commission for Nomadic Education Decree 41, 12 December, 1989: pp.6-10).

The National Policy of Education emphasized the need to promote female education noting that the policy was "to cater for all sons and daughters of Nigeria" (p. 14). To promote female education, in 1987 the federal government developed and adopted a "Blue Print on Female Education" which was implemented by ministries of education and local governments. In addition to this, the Nomadic Education Policy of 1986 had focused on the promotion of female education. Girls' education is reflected in the policy through an emphasis on the primary education of the nomadic children. The policy strategies for women's education were through adult education classes, distance education (radio education) and outreach workshop programs (Nomadic Education Commission Decree 41,1989). In all, the National Policy of Education (revised in 1981), the Nomadic Education Policy (1986), and the Blue Print on Female Education (1987), of the federal government emphasized and recognized the need for female education in general.

Purpose of the Study

Educational policies and implementation are often silent about the feminine gender especially in the nomadic education context. The significant role of women and girls in the socio-economic lives of the Fulbe nomads cannot be ignored. They are an invisible minority yet visible through their inputs in the cottage dairy industry. This underutilized human resource has a significant representation in the policy. Hence, the purpose of this study is to investigate the implementation and outcomes of the Nomadic Educational Policy for women and girls of the Fulbe in Northern Nigeria as it affects their social and economic development.

The United Nations Human Rights Declaration (1948) has classified women as a vulnerable group as well as a minority. The nomads or the pastoral population worldwide are also a minority group whose needs, for example, in education, healthcare and social amenities are emphasized by the UN. Specifically the pastoral or nomadic women in the rural-rural migrant communities were the focus of attention by the United Nations in their Decade for Women, 1976-1985. The UN stated that

> The decade has witnessed the increasing involvement of women in all forms of migration, including rural-rural, rural-urban and international movements of a temporary, seasonal or permanent nature. In addition to their lack of adequate education, skills and resources, migrant women may also face severe adjustment problems due to differences in socialization as well as separation from their original families. (p. 287)

It can be deduced from the statement that the nomadic women are greatly affected by the rural-rural as well as seasonal migration in search of pastures, hence there is a total disruption in terms of accessibility and continuity of formal education for the women and girls. Like most Islamic communities, the emphasis on Quranic education is obligatory for all Muslim children irrespective of sex. With regard to the Fulbe nomads, women and girls are marginalized in the acquisition of such education due to expectations of their social roles as future wives. Nomadic tribes such as the Fulbe often emphasize the fulfillment of female sex roles through marriage from the early age of 10 (Dupire, 1962, Stenning, 1959). The Quranic education, otherwise referred to as *madrasa* or *makarantar allo*, which is meant for girls and boys is seldom completed by girls, hence in comparison to the boys they may not even have the opportunity to proceed to higher Islamic studies (Assie-Lumumba, 1998; Stromquist, 1998). More often females are withdrawn from schools or not enrolled primarily for economic reasons such as avoiding the cost of training, and so they can participate fully in microeconomies such as trading, farming and allied activities. In addition, other socio-economic reasons include preference for boys' education, which is often seen as an asset while that of girls a liability because of short or no income returns to their parents as they leave and contribute to other families through marriage.

In recent years, the federal government of Nigeria has decided to embrace the global call to boost female education as stated in the action report of the UN Decade for Women (1985) which asked that "urgent attention should be paid to the educational and vocational training of women in all fields of occupation" (p. 287). Both the National Education Policy (1981) and the Nomadic Education Policy (1986) emphasized this area with specific sections on female education and literacy programs.

Educational planners in implementing these policies have focused on the assimilative aspects of the nomads' education by co-opting them into the dominant culture of the sedentary people. The strategy applied by government planners is the use conventional existing schools by the mobile or partial moving nomadic groups. Hence, the educational provisions made available for mobile people were modeled on the pattern of the regular school system. This is different from the Fulbe cultural way of life as well as non-congruent to their needs and expectations. The assimilation strategy of modern education when applied to female nomads in schools and learning centers has had an adverse effect on the extent of their participation in relation to accessibility as reflected in high school drop out rates and low performance. Their passive upbringing as girls further complicates their active participation in the style of pedagogy operating in schools, adult education centres and radio education programs. School conditions, perceived as "hostile" by the girls are another inhibitor to participation (Tahir, 1998). In addition, the girls are influenced by parental myths and fears concerning female education with regard to acquiring deviant behavior that may destroy their strict compliance with the Fulbe moral code of conduct *pulaaku* as well as deviating them from their reproductive and productive roles (Ezeomah, 1983). Based on these is the purpose of the study which is expanded in the focus below.

Study Focus

This study will focus on a feminist analysis of the policy intents and outcomes, raising questions of policy consistency and sensibility as well as providing qualitative empirical analyses vis a vis the impacts and effects of the Nomadic Educational Policy on Fulbe women and girls. It will examine reflections of policy makers on the intents, implementation, and outcomes as well as involve the providers and recipients of the policy in assessing its benefits and shortcomings not only concerning education but also the participants' socio-economic development.

Research Questions

The choice of research questions is affected by my social identity, as a female as well as a member of the Fulbe by association and induction. Being conversant with their cultural norms and expectations, the choice of appropriate oral language for effective communication between genders were duly considered and focused in structuring questions. The research questions are stated within the premises of the policy expectations, implementation and intended outcomes as they affect the nomadic Fulbe girls and women in Nigeria. In terms of the policy implementation, two major aspects are accessibility and relevance. In terms of outcomes, the major aspects are social and economic empowerment. Specific questions have been developed for each aspect.

Expectations

Policy makers are the stakeholders of the policy implementation and outcomes with respect to its management and legislation. Their influence with the Fulbe community and religious leaders can lead to greater motivation for participation among Fulbe women and girls as a means of personal and community and growth.

1. What were the expectations and assessment of the policy makers with reference to the policy implementation outcomes?

    1:1 What were their intentions as well as their expectations of actual practices with regard to the policy on the female nomads?

    1:2 As administrators, what have been the reactions of the participants with regards to the design and implementation of the policy?

    1:3 To what extent are they satisfied with the outcomes of the policy?

Implementation

In terms of policy implementation, two major aspects are accessibility and relevance. *Accessibility* will be examined through accessibility to centres freedom of access to education and level of participation.

2. What factors have affected Fulbe nomadic women and girls' accessibility of educational opportunities?

    2:1 To what extent have the types and placement, flexibility, mobility and proximity of literacy centres and outreach programs for women and mobile/conventional schools for girls affected their accessibility?

    2:2 How have environmental factors such as drought, flood, and lack of grazing land, affected their access to learning opportunities?

    2:3 What has been the impact of culture and religious roles concerning their participation in learning?

    2:4 To what extent do household, traditional sex roles, and self-choice affects decisions to access and participate in schooling?

Implementation also deals with the relevance and quality of the (a) curriculum and instructional content as it relates to their indigenous knowledge and language of instruction and (b) pedagogy and instructional management as it relates to their attendance, classroom interaction and the role of female instructors:

3. How relevant and appropriate are the academic programs offered under the Nomadic Education Policy to the needs of women and girls?

    3:1 What are their perceptions of the relevance to their needs and the quality of the curricula of the literacy programs, the radio education programs and the outreach workshops?

3:2 How well are these curricula related to their indigenous knowledge?

3:3 What are their reactions to the choice of the language of instruction?

3:4 What pedagogical strategies have been most effective in helping them learn?

3:5 What has been the influence of the pedagogy and instructional management strategies on their attendance?

3:6 Have they been satisfied with the level of communication interaction?

3:7 To what extent have female instructors affected their participation and class interaction?

Outcomes

The major expected outcome of the policy is literacy and numeracy for women and girls. This is expected to lead to social and economic empowerment. It is expected that through this policy women and girls can be sensitized to further education. This will enhance their social status in the society, thereby bringing about changes in the attitudes and perceptions of people about them. As well it will enhance their economic empowerment.

4. What have been the outcomes of the Nomadic Education Program for nomadic women and girls?

4:1 To what extent has the development of nomadic education led to the social empowerment of the female nomads such as:

(a) the improvement of healthy family lives?

(b) the improvement of gender relations and the status of women in the family and the society at large?

(c) improvement of their general communication and civic life?

5. How has the literacy/schooling of women and girls improved their economic empowerment?

5:1 What has been the impact of their literacy or education on their labor management for the processing and production of dairy products?

5:2 To what extent has their literacy improved their professional autonomy in marketing and accessing modern financial facilities?

Significance of the Study

The Nomadic education policy is new and multidimensional. This study is primarily significant in that it will provide information to government officials, policy makers and educational planners on the implementation of the unique policy.

To the Fulbe/Fulani nomads, especially women, the study will directly or indirectly assist them to identify their educational needs as it relates to their socio-economic lives. The women and girls will benefit from the study, as it will provide detailed information for them on the entire Nomadic Education Policy.

The study will be beneficial to educators as a contribution in understanding migrant education, especially those involved in interventional programs like the Nomadic Education Program. It is expected that the study will identify major factors related to the education of female nomadic Fulbe. To the migrant people it is hoped that through this study the importance of education for nomadic Fulani women and girls will be appreciated and it may encourage development of other specific economic policies in animal husbandry, such as a Dairy Policy, that may lead to skilled and valued economic education for the expansion, recognition and general development of indigenous skills and knowledge.

Limitations of the Study

This study is potentially limited by the inadequacy of related literature especially on nomadic women and education. The study involved travelling to nine grazing encampments with higher populations of women and girls in school attendance and I had to conduct my research within the work lives of the women and girls in addition. The influence of the *Sharia* laws on the conduct of women and girls affected the number of camps willing to participate and in turn the number of participants who could be interviewed. Finally, financial constraints also affected my ability to travel to more than nine camps throughout Northern Nigeria.

Delimitations

The study focused on the northern part of Nigeria with special attention to those states that are implementing the Nomadic Education Policy. Furthermore it is delimited to nomadic Fulani Muslim women and girls in schooling groups, and in social structures as family and community members.

Chapter 2

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This chapter provides information on the context of this research. The first section describes the history, culture and traditions of the Fulbe, the recipients of the Nomadic Education Policy. The second section focuses on nomadic education and the education of the Fulbe and the third on the implementation strategies of the Nomadic Education Policy.

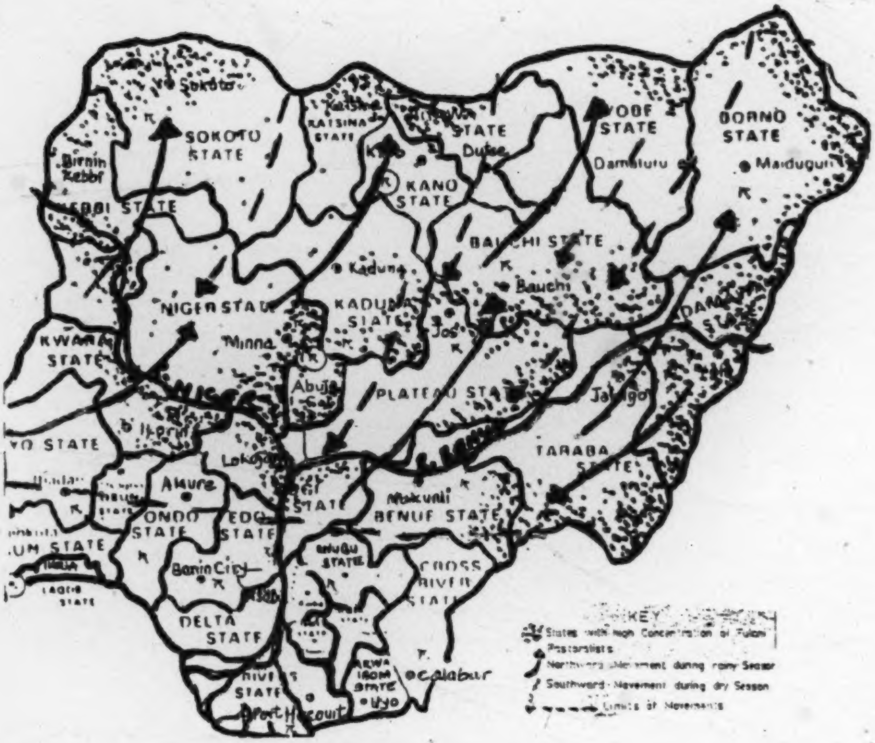
The History, Culture and Traditions of the Fulbe

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa situated in the west of Sub-Saharan Africa on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea. It is bounded by the republics of Benin to the west, Chad to the northwest and Niger to the north, Cameroon to the east and southeast. Nigeria's land mass covers 356,700 square miles a terrain of coastal swamps to tropical forests in the southern part and open woodlands, grasslands and semi desert in the far north (Mabogunje, 1999). It has a population of about 115 million people (November, 1991 census) with over 250 ethnic tribes within the four major ethnic groups of Hausa, Fulani/Fulbe, Yoruba, and Igbo (Arnold 1997; Mabogunje, 1998; Perkins and Stembridge, 1966). Within the geo-political entity of the country, there are basically, thirty-six states including the Federal Capital territory, Abuja. It serves as the seat of Nigeria's federal government as well as the location of developmental agencies as well as multilateral organizations.

With an area of 281,872 square miles, Northern Nigeria occupies rather more than three-quarters of the entire country, and contains more than half the population of Nigeria. The major ethnic tribes are the Hausa (21%) and the Fulani (9% or 5.3 million)

(Arnold, 1997; Tahir and Abdulrahaman, 1998). Some Fulani are sedentary; others are nomadic.

Figure 1


SOKOTO STATE
Sokoto
Birnin Kebbi
KEBBI STATE
KATSINA STATE
Katsina
KANO STATE
Kano
STATE
Dutse
YOBE STATE
Damaturu
BORNO STATE
Maiduguri
BAUCHI STATE
Bauchi
NIGER STATE
Minna
KADUNA STATE
Kaduna
Jos
PLATEAU STATE
Jalingo
KWARA STATE
Ilorin
Abuja
Lokoja
TARABA STATE
Akure
ONDO STATE
EDO STATE
STATE
Makurdi
BENUE STATE
OYO STATE
OGUN STATE
LAGOS STATE
Benin City
DELTA STATE
ENUGU STATE
CROSS RIVER STATE
RIVERS STATE
Port Harcourt
AKWA IBOM STATE
Uyo
Calabar
KEY
States with high Concentration of Fulani Pastoralists
Northward Movement during rainy Season
Southward Movement during dry Season
Limits of Movements

The location and seasonal movement of the Fulbe nomads in Nigeria.

Source: Federal Ministry of information yearbook (1998).

Fulani or Fulbe nomads traditionally have their homesteads in most parts of northern Nigeria with higher concentrations in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Kaduna, Kastina, Plateau, Sokoto,Taraba, and Yobe, and the federal capital territory, Abuja (see Figure 1). Higher densities of Fulbe nomads are recorded along the Jos plateau (located close to the centre of the country rising to about 1780m at Shere Hill with streams that flow to Lake Chad), on the slopes to the North, as well as on the Mambila highlands and Adamawa lowlands, and the high plains of Hausaland (EUROPA 1998; de St. Croix, 1972; Stenning, 1959).

The topography and the tsetse fly-free zones of these areas are major factors in determining the location of the Fulbe. The areas are characterized by grassland or savannah vegetation, which covers over 80% of Nigeria (Mabogunje, 1998 in EUROPA, 1998; EUROPA, 1999). The pastoral migration pattern is further controlled by their search for water for the herds. Their movement is concentrated around the two major rivers, the Niger and Benue, and their tributaries. The river Niger is the third longest river in Africa. Originating in the Fouta Djallon mountains, it descends through north eastern Sierra Leone and enters Nigeria for the last one third of its 4,200 km course flowing south-easterly and converging with the Benue at Lokoja (EUROPA, 1999). The nomadic followership of the river Niger is significantly associated with the need for pastures and water supply for the herds, but it has also an oral traditional linkage to their ancestral origin in the Fouta Djallon in Senegal (Bruijin, 1997; de St. Croix, 1972).

The Origin of Nomadic Fulbe

All Fulani (Fulbe) either of the nomadic or sedentary groups have a single ancestral origin based on legends as recorded in historical scholarly researches in addition to oral narratives. The Fulbe people who are found in almost all the countries of West Africa and beyond, originated from an area to the east of the Senegal River, which lies roughly in what is now known as Mauritania (Armstrong, 1978; Garba Saidu, 1977). All historical records relating to the Fulbe agree that the Fulbe people are divided into two distinct groups, the sedentary and the cattle or nomadic Fulbe, a division, which has engendered some controversies. Armstrong (1977) described the sedentary Fulbe as "aggressive state builders through wars of conquest, and strong fierce Muslims" (p. 93). The settlement of the Fulbe was based on several factors. They were forced to leave their place of origin, probably due to desert encroachment, and had to live with people who were not Muslims. In the course of their migration many of them adopted a settled way of life but their abiding faith in Islam and tremendous sense of religious mission made it impossible for them to live under non-Muslim suzerainty. This was the driving force that compelled them to resort to "wars of conquest" which the Fulbe themselves called *Jihad* or holy wars (Cockcroft, 1990; Diallo, 1985; Hopen, 1958; Mohammed, 1998). The Fulbe recorded the first Jihad in the Fouta Jallon area (the modern Republic of Guinea). It lasted from 1725 to the 1770s and was followed by a Fulbe diaspora over the eighteen and nineteen centuries to the Hausa and Borno states (Azarya, 1978; de St. Croix, 1972). In another observation Murdoch (1959 cited in Armstrong, 1977) mentioned that " they reached Adamawa in the eighteenth century and Cameroon in the early nineteen century" (p.8).

There are two visible differences between the nomadic Fulbe and the sedentary Fulbe despite the fact that they have always lived in close proximity to each other. Cattle or nomadic Fulbe have a strong attachment to their animals. This attachment was coined as “cattle mania” (Junaid, 1985) and for this reason it was assumed that they had little time for religious devotion. This assertion was refuted by de St. Croix (1972):

> The nomadic Fulani (Fulbe) are undoubtedly, as a whole, lax in their attitude to religion. I have read, and heard the statement made, that they are pagans; but personally, I do not know a camp in which the orthodox Mohammedan (Islamic) are entirely disregarded, while it is usual to find that a number of persons of each camp are in possession of a rosary. (p.5)

The other point of contrast between the two groups has to do with their physical appearance. Whereas the sedentary Fulbe are usually darker with Negroid features, the cattle Fulbe, on the other hand, are generally light skinned with features that point to a Caucasoid origin (Zerbo, 1990;Johnston, 1967; Mohammed, 1998).

As a result of the existing two groups of the Fulbe, many writers have advanced hypotheses in their attempts to unravel the "mystery" surrounding the actual origin of the Fulbe people as well as to determine which group is to be regarded as representing the "true" Fulbe. The first is the legend of the Fulbe as the descendants of the Arabs. The legend claims that the Fulbe descended from an Arab called Uqba ibn Nafi who came to Africa from Arabia, got married to an African woman called Bajjo Manngo and their offspring became the first ever Fulbe (Johnson, 1967; Mukoshy 1984 cited in Mohammed, 1998).

Another legend, reported in de St. Croix (1970), tells of how the nomadic cattle Fulbe originated. It started with a Pullo (Fulani) woman from the sedentary group who had a quarrel with her husband. As a result she ran into the forest taking her baby boy with her. After she had calmed down, she decided to return to her husband's house.

However, in her unexplained haste, she left behind her baby, and when she went back for her baby it had somehow disappeared. It transpired that the baby was well and alive. So he grew up there in the wild. One day when he had grown up into a youth he was visited by a "Jinn" (spirit) who told him that he would continue to live in the forest, but that he would come by some fortune in the form of cattle. The Jinn then instructed him to go to the river and wait there; soon he saw a white cow come out of water, he turned and led it away from the river into the forest. He continued walking a long way without looking back. When at last he turned to look at his white cow he was stunned at what he saw, for the whole forest behind him was full of white cattle. Unknown to him as he walked steadily away from the river without looking back, an unbroken line of white cattle had been issuing out of the river and had only ceased at the moment he stopped to look back. The now extremely wealthy Pullo married an Arab woman and was blessed with children who married amongst themselves and continued to multiply in numbers.

Both legends invoke the Arab connection in trying to explain the preponderance of light-skinned people among the Fulbe, particularly the nomadic or cattle Fulbe. Other writers have linked the Fulbe with a North African connection through the Tuaregs and the Berbers which further explains the dominance of light skin among the nomadic Fulbe (Armstrong, 1987).

The preponderance of linguistic evidence linking "Fulfulde" the language of the Fulani, with the Niger-Congo family of languages has, to all intents and purposes, put an end to all speculations regarding the linguistic affinity of Fulfulde. It is also known, since the publication of Koelle's Polygotta Africana in 1854, that Fulfulde has a close linguistic affinity with those languages that form the West Atlantic sub-phylum within the Niger-

Congo group; and that speakers of these languages are of pure African stock (SOAS, 1970 cited in Mohammed 1998). It follows, therefore, that since Fulfude is an African language, whoever claims it as a native tongue must also be nothing other than an African.

The origin of the Fulfulde language has been linked with a legend connected to a woman and her two children. It was said that a woman gave birth to a baby boy who grew up without uttering a word till his mother had a second child. When the mother was away, she left the younger son in the care of the older boy (the one who never spoke). Later the younger child started crying. In order to calm him down the elder child spoke for the first time saying *jeeda inna maada wartay* meaning, "Be quiet! Your mother will soon return" (de St. Croix, 1970). It is assumed from this narrative that the statement of the boy is the beginning of the Fulfulde language spoken by Fulbe in Senegal, Mali, Nigeria and all over Africa. Greenberg (1955) made a comparative study between Serer and Fulfulde and concluded that the two languages must have some common origin.

From the foregoing it is significant to note that all legends on the origin of the Fulbe specify the women's role as significant. Nomadic Fulbe women are traditionally associated with their reproductive role as wives/mothers. They are considered central figures for the social cohesion of clans as well as in all dairy economy production.

The History of Fulbe Nomads in Nigeria

The cattle Fulani or nomads migrated from West Africa to the Hausa states and Borno around the 18th century. Most pastoral Fulbe/Fulani could not give a detailed account of their ancestors' social and political life before the *jihad* in 1804. Some information showed that they lived in rather large and mobile bush encampments, which they were prepared either to defend themselves or flee depending on the strength of their enemy. As people whose subsistence came largely from their herds, they were less dependent on and had little contact with the Hausa rulers (Ezeomah, 1982; 1987; 1991; Cockcroft, 1990; Mohammed, 1998). They gained what they wanted through peaceful means of economic reciprocity in local contexts, and carried out their religious obligation to Muslim states in Nigeria only when they deemed it politic or were forced to do so (de St. Croix, 1972; de Villiers and Hirtle, 1997; Ezeomah, 1982; Hopen, 1958; Johnston, 1967; Quentin, 1998).

The nomadic Fulbe/Fulani participated in state wars usually when this served to extend their rights to grazing grounds, and rarely for ideological motives. Hopen (1958) ascertained this stating that Danfodio gained the support of pastoral kinsmen in fighting the "jihad" because pastoralists found conditions in the Gobir vicinity intolerable.

The victory of the holy war of the Fulani Islamic scholar and reformist, Shehu Usman Danfodio, in 1804 changed the status of pastoralists from a subject people to part of an elite. From the booty of war and tributes from vassal states paid to the Fulani-strong states of Gwandu and Sokoto, were great numbers of slaves. With their slaves occupied both in farming and herding, some of the herdsmen and their children used their leisure to study (Ezeomah, 1987; 1991). The jihad led to the political stabilization of the Fulani in Northern Nigeria and the emergence of the Sokoto Caliphate, an Islamic state.

They established an Islamic state after overthrowing the Hausa rulers and replacing them with the Fulani ethnic group (Quentin,1998; Reynolds, 1997). In turn, the British took advantage of the already established Fulani theocratic administration of the emirateship when they became the rulers in the middle nineteen century. Reynolds (1997) observed that

> The British used the system of authority and administration, which eventually became the model for the system of indirect rule. Emirates renamed *Native Authorities* were utilized by the British as the basic units of local and regional administration. The chain of command of the Native Authorities was *Sarki* the (emir) and his district heads, *Hakimai,* along with the village heads *Dagatai* and title holders as *masu sarauta as* well as native authority employees as *Maai'kata,* religious scholars as *ulaama or malamai or ardos*, judges as *alkalai* and the local police as *ya'n doka*. (p. 33)

The system spared the British administration from having to establish their own low-level administrative network. The first premier of Northern Nigeria and a direct descendant of Usman Danfodio, Sir Ahmadu Bello stated in his biography (Paden, 1986) that

> The Native Authorities are of all of them, based on historic grounds and their areas have historic boundaries. Luggard saw the administrative genius of the Fulani rulers and their staff: He utilized it as the mainspring of the Native Authority system, and it had worked well since then. (p. 29)

The Fulani empire or Sokoto Caliphate was the original model for the political organization of Northern Nigeria and this in turn has led to international recognition of its Islamic identity (Reynolds, 1997). Today in northern politics and indeed the general political structure and governance in Nigeria, the Fulbe occupy very high positions as civil servants and military men. Most of them are either directly or indirectly connected with the Caliphate as grandsons or granddaughters of the royals. In addition, the grandson of Usman Dan Fodio, who later became the first premier of Northern Nigeria ensured unity of the North through the "Arewa" slogan meaning "Northernization", thereby uniting both the Fulbe and non-Fulbe ethnic groups as northerners which encouraged Northern unity. In this approach he encouraged and selected girls from the North (Fulbe and non-Fulbe) for western education within and outside the country, and he became the first pioneer to encourage female education in Northern Nigeria.

Fulbe Migration

Fulbe are involved in nomadism, a practice or state of wandering life (Yadeta,1985). Pastoral nomadism is the movement of human as well as domestic and semi-domestic animal populations, through a series of stations. At each station, operations are carried out according to the capacity of the supply of grasses (Salzman, 1972, cited by Yadeta, 1985).

Migration or the movement of Fulbe nomads and their herds is based on the decision of male heads of households. It begins with information gathering from scouts and sedentary kin on migratory routes, topography, climate and farmers or sedentary neighbors. In addition, men herders gather information on pasturage and water availability. They take initial decisions in consultation with the family elders, and the scouts. Men decide where to camp and negotiate with farmers for animals to graze on stubble on their land (Ezeomah, 1983; Sinha, 1996). The migrational pattern occurs in both dry and rainy seasons.

Migration involves nomadic clans and families traveling long distances to a chosen location for either dry or rainy season grazing. During transit they may cross local, state, national, and international boundaries (Ezeomah, 1998; Scott, 1984; Zerbo, 1990).

Routes are explored and followed based on already acquired information as well as experience; some routes are passed once whilst others might be repeated.

These movements can be for short or long distances. Nomadic clans and families move long distances to chosen locations, but once there they do not all stay in one place. Families and clans move to locations of their choice. This is referred to as *split dispersion*. It is most sudden whenever animal life and security are threatened in any serious way. Then movements from such places are fast. The Fulbe have always described easy dispersal at very short notice as being like "birds which when one is touched all others fly away" (de St. Croix cited by Ezeomah, 1983: 4).

In most cases split dispersions are intra-state within or across local government boundaries. The split groups are easily identified by their small numbers, which consist of about one to five families, and the scantiness of their camping equipment which is tied on a few cows' backs (Ezeomah, 1983). Various factors are considered by the nomads for settlement. They are frequency or availability of water and pastures; relationship with resident farmers within the area selected; suitability of the weather; as well as disease-free zone locations for the survival of their cattle.

Fulbe Women and Girls during Migration

Women and girls are primary participants during migration and dispersion. During transition, the women walk with their babies on their backs, and loads on their heads. Fulbe wives are usually informed by their spouses about the movement, since they need to make adequate plans and preparations in terms of catering, and "traditional paramedic" materials for the needs of the family. Basic soup ingredients like okra, pepper (chili), local seasoning (daddawa), salt (gishiri), and potash (manda) are preserved by drying in the sun. Other necessary goods include dry cereals like millet (gero), corn (masara), sorghum (dawa) and rice.

Orthodox medicine or trado-pharmacology is practiced by nomadic Fulbe women. Through knowledge of indigenous medicines, women carry with them selected tree shrubs, leaves, roots and bark of some specific trees, curative traditional oils and powder, as well as liquids for curative purposes and prevention. Women also practice spiritualism through the use of talismans and amulets with some Quranic verses sealed in them for protection against sicknesses and bad luck in trading and marriage (de. St. Croix, 1972). Hence, women's knowledge of indigenous curative medicines for family use automatically enlarges their roles and duties to the family as wives and mothers, as well as "nurses and doctors" during and after migration.

As a result of their migrational pattern they get involved in the subsistence collection of wild fruits, leafy vegetables, and they help collect the bark of trees for rope making. Sometimes when wild fruits are collected in excess they are sold in urban markets for extra domestic income (Dupire, 1963; 1972; Osborn, 1990).

The environmental awareness of these women is evident in their knowledge of trees, stalks, and bamboos. They can distinguish various types of trees and their uses as fuel for domestic purposes. Unlike other nomads who use cow dung as fuel they use wood for making fires in the compound for the cattle at night. They are better informed about tree species and products than their husbands or forestry extension workers (Fortman and Rocheleau, 1985 cited by Osborn, 1990).

During migration, women learn by asking their spouses about the different topographies, climatic conditions, weather and types of winds. They are able to read and forecast weather conditions to determine their movement. Migration is an economic necessity for women in Fulbe families. It is also a means of educating and exposing women to the world of nature as well as learning "self perseverance in the face of all hardships" which is the core of the Fulbe moral code of *pulaku*.

One negative effect of their movement is particularly important to this study. It constitutes a barrier to accessibility, continuity and management of schooling for nomadic children in general and females in particular.

Economic Significance of the Fulbe Nomads

One of the greatest resource endowments of northern Nigeria is its pastoral economy. This includes the grazing land and the organisms (organic and inorganic) independently on or symbiotically related to it. The organisms include animals (wild and domesticated), and people (pastoral nomads, and herdsmen). A delicate balancing of the intricate relationships between and amongst these components creates economic activities, central to the lives of the Fulbe. Sahelian Nigeria considered to be rich in pastoral resources is able to sustain the ecological equilibrium which makes agricultural activities possible and profitable (Bashir, 1998). Pastoral Fulbe own and manage 83 % of the 14 million cattle and 13% of the 22 million sheep and goats in Nigeria. The foci of their livestock management are milk and meat production with supplementary activities such as animal traction now taking an important place in farming systems (Federal Department of Livestock and Pest Control Services 1992:37, 424).

Besides meat and dairy production, another important economic aspect of the nomadic economy is their control of the main source of dungs, which are required for Biogas production. According to Okaiyeto (1998)

> In both Biogas Digester and Solar Dryer, the agro pastoral Fulani were postulated as having potentials of meeting these conditions because their herds and flocks are sources of dungs, [and] also require dry herbages while the cash inflows from livestock and dairy product sales are sources of capital accumulation that could be used to acquire these technologies. (p.79)

The significant role of the nomads in the promotion of tourism as a major economic activity was also emphasized by Khazanov (1994) who noted "photographs of their colorful clothes, jewelry and tattoos are useful for promotional tourist literature." (p. 21) Hence, the contributions of the nomads to the economic and political activities of Nigeria is varied and important.

Contributions of Nomadic Fulbe Women and Girls to the Non-formal Economy

For the development of themselves and their community as well as the nation the nomadic Fulbe women practice various non-formal economic activities in the social organization of labor. They are involved in the production and distribution of dairy products, commercialization of food-processed products, and are significant taxpayers as traders.

The role of the women and girls in dairy management. Women's and girl's participation in animal husbandry can be equated with child rearing and nurturing. The cow is sacred to women; It is their only source of livelihood. They depend upon and hence, they nurture their cattle as their children in order to sustain them for continuous production of dairy products. Shiva (1988) stated that the cow is often referred as "mother". In addition, Shiva (1988) reiterated that "women have been experts in animal husbandry as well as food processors in the traditional dairy industry making curds and butter, ghee and butter milk" (p.166). Additionally, Bayers (1987, cited by Bruijin, 1997) commenting on settled Fulbe women in Nigeria, indicated that the economic domains of men and women are not divided strictly in all circumstances (especially in the care of cattle and other agricultural works). At the same time she devoted a lot of attention to the social and economic independence of the woman centred unit as the core unit for the processing and division of milk and its products. Likewise, Kuhn (1997) in a study of Fulbe women in northern Benin took milk and the organization of its processing and division as the core of her analysis of women's roles. In addition, de St. Croix (1972) described their domestic as well as economic function:

> Dairy work is in the hands of women, they sour the milk, prepare milk and butter for the market, and take these products to the town or village, sometimes from a considerable distance. The souring of milk takes a natural process. After milking, the previous day's sour milk *njokadam or pendidam* is added and the milk is set aside for twenty-four hours. Certain plants may be used to sour milk, for example, *dalli* (phoenix reclinata). When curdled, the milk is known as *danidam or nyallunde*. Sour buttermilk is also produced referred as *njonkadam*, while white butter called *belbel* and skimmed sour milk called *gulutche* is also produced for sale and consumption. (p. 27)

In a recent study of African women this female-centered unit, was given a central place in the analysis of gender roles and power positions in Africa (Ekejiuba, 1995). Their economic strength has given them self-independence, as well as respect from their husbands and other family members. Furthermore, private food industries have responded to recent changes in Nigerian society resulting in greater consumer demand for "natural products" of dairy types like yogurt referred in Fulfulde *njokadam* or *pendidam*. The change in consumer attitudes has increased the proliferation of private milk industries as profit enterprises. The net effect is a very high demand for the women's milk as raw material.

Food preparation for commercial purposes. Sour milk consumption in Northern Nigeria is associated mostly with a mixture of mashed millet dumplings called *fura*. The preparation of *fura* is often done for commercial purposes. The preparation of *fura* is a very tedious process; it involves pounding of millet grains to flour, which is then mixed with water. This is followed by cooking and later by kneading after which the mixture is rolled into balls to form dumplings. The balls are sprinkled with millet flour to prevent them from sticking together. The *fura* can be sold separately or mixed with sour milk *nono*. Waters-Bayer (1985) noted

> When the women sold their 'nono' together with 'fura', they earned one third more per measure of diluted 'nono' than if they sold the 'nono' alone. Furthermore the women who sold with 'fura' diluted the milk more than those who sold without 'fura', so that the gains per kg of actual milk sold were even greater. Those gains were in addition to those the women made by processing purchased grains into 'fura' and by re-selling sugar with the 'nono-fura mixture'. (p.11)

The involvement of women and girls in this food-processing unit is not only a means of expanding their economic activities but also a source of additional income. Fulbe nomadic women experience some degree of economic independence or non-interference of their spouses in their dairy production and sales management. Where cash is obtained from the dairy products, it belongs to the woman; the cattle owner has no title to it. Cash from the sales is expended in buying food, chiefly corn, millet, soup ingredients, and items uncommon to the nomads like palm oil for household use. Expenditures from the woman's profit are also made on the purchase of clothes for the woman herself, and at Muslims festivals like Id-El-Kabir or Fitr and other social gatherings like marriage (de St. Croix, 1972; Boserup, 1970).

Fulbe women as traders. The women hawk their milk and *fura* products in local markets and major urban streets. Their visibility and mobility as traders make them eligible to pay income tax. In market centres they pay dues for a license to operate, a sort of domestic tax. Historically, tax payments have long been paid indirectly through their spouses. From colonial times to the late seventies, they had to pay a cattle tax known as *jangali*. The cattle tax which was a product of British imperial capitalism in Northern Nigeria was economically distinct as *kudin kassa*, from *zakkka* (of the Maliki law) enforced on Fulbe herdsmen. Fulbe as men were required to make the payment " It [the women's profits] is rarely used to help the cattle-owner out in cattle-tax payment, though this might be done as an act of grace by a wife who has had several children by her husband" (de St. Croix, 1972:30).

Significantly, the economic advantage to men of obtaining women in marriage plays a major role in the growth of the pastoral economy. Women are involved in the labor management of cattle as young girls by attending herding, and as wives they nurture calves and are involved in milk processing and food preparation for commercial and domestic consumption in the household. Their status as married women often increases family wealth and assets in cattle through exchange or transfer of livestock as marriage gifts, as well as through social contracts among kinship networks so as to increase the family productive capacity. Hence spouse selection is dictated by the chance or opportunity to adjust or increase labor and livestock. To this effect cross-cousin marriages are encouraged because women are highly valued as a supply of household labor, and various pastoral activities are organized along sex and age lines (Sinha, 1996). Hence, the nomadic Fulbe family is an economic organization both as a unit of production and of consumption, providing labor and maintaining herds as capital. It is a subsistence economy in which the central factor of production, labor, is traditionally within the family and is automatically utilized. The role of the women in the family economy is highly valued and promoted.

Traditional Role and Status of Fulbe Women and Girls

The status of women and girls in the Fulbe tradition is enhanced by their appearance, as the Fulbe believe they are the most beautiful people on earth. de Villiers and Hirtle (1997) observed that "they have their hair plaited, a lipstick of kohl blackens their lips, and yellow paste made from a friable stone called 'polla' is spread all over their face" (p.285). The idea is to enhance their natural beauty as well as seduce the opposite sex with erotic looks.

Traditionally, a woman's status is further enhanced when married. Marriage creates the basis for a woman to survive and the relationship through which she gets her rights to milk (Dupire, 1963; Waters-Bayers, 1988). Marriage enables women to establish new social relations and to have children who will ultimately take care of them at old age. As a married woman she becomes important by owning her own house and becoming a member of her husband's household, or *wuro*. Marriage for the nomadic Fulbe woman has an economic benefit, since cattle referred to as *sadaaki* or *hakkundeeji*, are presented to the woman by parents while if the woman is married to a married man she is presented with a milch cow, *birnaaji*. They are all sources of wealth for her new home. In addition, each birth is marked by the gift of cattle from parents and in-laws. As a patrilineal society, a woman leaves her family and goes to live with her husband or his family, but she could return where she is ill treated by her husband or his relations (Bruijin, 1998). Most marriages are arranged and the husband and wife are responsible to each other and their children. In addition to this as Dupire (1963 cited by Vereecke, 1989) commented, women's status and roles are essentially secondary and subordinate to that of their husbands. A pastoral Fulbe woman is evaluated primarily by her obedience and subservience to her husband, which is subsumed under the concept of *dewal* which means service, and which derives from *rew* which means to follow or serve. Fulbe women and girls wear hairstyles which indicate the main stages of a womans' life (de St. Croix, 1972; Dupire, 1972, 63). Little girls wear a special style *durol cakaol* while the married women and the girl child wear a hairstyle called *durol bedyeli pu DaaDo.*

Among the nomadic Fulbe, women are in charge of all social relations. Milk is first and foremost a sign of social status and symbolizes social relations and hospitality. It is also a sign of a woman's beauty (Bruijin, 1997). Social relations are strengthened between households through women and this is explicit in the gift or exchange of milk. A man depends on his wife for this. If she refuses to give a certain person some milk at his request, the husband can do nothing about it. Although a man has the power to give milk from his own cows to a stranger or relative, it does not equal the social significance of a gift of milk from a woman (Bruijin, 1997).

For most Fulbe nomadic women, the teachings of Islam are embedded in their culture. Hence they are enjoined by the Islamic laws on marriage (based on the doctrines of the Quran and the Hadith), to be obedient to their spouses for the after-life benefit *lada* as indicated in the Quran cited in Maududi (1995) " virteous women are obedient, and guard their husband's rights carefully in their absence under the care and watch of Allah" (4:34). By the teachings of the religion, men are the governors of their affairs as stated in the Quran; " men are the governors of the affairs of women because Allah has made men superior to women and because women spend their wealth on them" (4: 34). However, the submission of the woman to her husband is also to the culture itself. Reisman (1977) noted that "there was much more an adherence to the culture itself than a conformity to the will of an individual, be it father, mother or husband." (p.85) The religious and traditional domination of Fulbe women demonstrates the practices of patriarchy at the centre of their cultural and value systems.

Female Fulbe are considered by the community to be symbols of peace, love and beauty. They enjoy some degree of independence economically and socially in the performance of their roles. Dupire (1963) stated

> To judge from the kind of set expression, haughty and distant, often seen on the women's faces, one would guess that the mystery it conceals is no easy one to pierce, and that this mask they wear is one way, not only of concealing their in-most thoughts, but also of preserving the independence they value so highly. (p.48)

Traditional Education of Nomadic Fulbe Women and Girls

Generally in Nigeria, before the introduction of formal or western education the young were oriented through an informal education which was rooted in the traditions of all ethnic tribes, and which prepared them to function as productive members of the society (Day, 1998). The nomadic Fulbe have a well organized informal educational system. The concept of informal education was observed by Adejuwon (1990) as a process of acculturation and socialization which inducted the young ones into social norms and values of the society. In addition to this definition Coombs and Ahmed (1974) defined it as

> The life long processes by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment at home, at work, at play, from the examples and attitudes of family and friends… Generally, informal education is unorganized, unsystematic and even unintentional at times, yet accounts for the great bulk of any person's total life-time learning including that of even highly 'schooled' persons. (p.8)

Informal education is pervasive and runs parallel with everyday life. Because it dominates earlier it is often referred to as "home education" with extended families and elders of the community as natural teachers (Adejuwon, 1990). Apparently, Fulbe females' informal training from their parents continues in their matrimonial homes as wives and mothers in all aspects of life. Amongst the Fulbe and other ethnic tribes in Nigeria traditional education of females is for socialization into their roles as women and mothers (Fafunwa, 1974; Okeke, 1989; Ozigi et al, 1987). This section details their traditional methods, Quranic education and development and placement of the Nomadic Education Policy.

Domestic Training

Traditional practices of education have been an integral aspect of everyday life and serve primarily for the transmission of traditional value roles and skills. Mothers and older women serve as teachers in educating girls during the first years, teaching them skills such as fetching water and firewood, food preparation, milking, pounding and grinding grains, butter churning and general dairy production, and cleaning and guarding younger brothers and sisters. In families, which do not process food for sale, young girls are expected to spend most of their time at home on domestic chores, and may not leave the household unless authorized by parents to leave. The absence of mothers from home on their regular market visits determines where girls spend their time (Junaid, 1987).

Older girls in Fulbe households not engaged in trading with their mothers are assigned tasks as substitute caretakers of younger children and infants, during the absence of their mothers, and if a girl were to leave the infants for any reason she will incur punishment by her mother (Junaid, 1987). A number of their childcare techniques include cuddling, playing, and carrying them on their backs as they fetch water from rivers and wells. In families where the mothers have no grown daughters to care for the infants the mothers carry them along to trade and the homesteads are locked up. At times such households made use of borrowed labor. These tasks are considered essential for the functioning of the female's social life amongst the nomadic Fulbe.

Training in Marketing and Monetary Economics

In short, girls understudy their roles; they acquire the skills required for their economic survival by adopting the values and norms which the patrilineal Fulbe society clearly distinguish as sex roles (Calaway, 1987; Bruijin 1997). As observed in most ethnic tribes in Nigeria, Okeke (1989) reported that "the girl follows the footsteps of her mother helping her in household chores, caring for the younger siblings and accompanies her to the market" (p. 44).

The nomadic Fulbe life is increasingly based on a money economy, and this has had the effect of increasing the work of both mothers and daughters. They labor more to process and trade dairy products for cash in order to satisfy both their subsistence needs and their incentives to accumulate more possessions (such as clothes, lamps, oils, salts). Girls observe their mothers' transactions with customers. Mothers assign them tasks as a means of training by giving them verbal instructions to guide them in sales strategy as the mothers attend to other businesses in the market (Junaid, 1987).

Girls are also trained in the skills of handling money. Most of the daily earnings are in cash and the women seldom barter milk for grains. The extent of the Fulbe nomadic womens' involvement in the markets as suppliers and consumers of commodities necessitates the training of their daughters in monetary skills.

Cognitive Learning and Training

Fulbe nomadic girls are given orientation to cognitive learning through proverbs in order to encapsulate idiomatic expressions and popular sayings. As observed by Ojoade (1982), Fulbe parents teach proverbs to epitomize a lesson they wish to impart to their children. Furthermore, Dei-Sefa (1994) commented that "elders taught oral literature, fables, folktales, legends, myths, proverbs and story telling. African youths receive socialization and education." (p.13)

Mental exercises in counting are taught to girls by their mothers as well as by older women and sisters in the compound. Dupire (1972; 1963) reiterated that "mental education is given to her [girl] by her mother who answers all her questions, gives her practical training in the use of customary equipment and teaches her how to count by means of notches cut on a bed pole" (p.55).

Botany education in traditional form is learnt by Fulbe nomadic boys and girls during herding in the form of play from their peer groups. Diolde (1990) described the process of learning as involving precise recall of information from peers on plants observed in the fields. It is practiced when a child points to a plant requesting the name of such plant, or shrub. Failure to give the correct answer attracts collective sanction such as peer smacking.

Environmental education is taught to nomadic Fulbe girls especially during herding. They are taught the position of water holes and how to estimate their capacity, how to identify grazing lands and their composition of natron-rich soils for curative purposes, and the reading of the clouds for rainfall and winds (Diolde, 1990). Even when they are escorting their mothers to daily markets to sell dairy products they are often taught by their mothers to be vigilant of weather changes. Most important is the training of girls in the identification of types of shrubs as well as distinguishing between different types of corn stalks for fuel and cattle consumption. Mothers and elderly women often teach girls types of vegetables and trees useful for medicinal purposes, which, in essence, enables the girls to acclimatize themselves to the different vegetation of their grazing encampments. Arts and crafts are traditional knowledge learnt and practiced by women and girls. As lovers of beauty, body modification either permanent or temporary is taught by older women. Calabashes are the most cherished possession of the women and girls; they carve patterns with cold tools and use a white paste made from dry milk to engrave their designs comprising combinations of various abstract motifs such as circles, squares, triangles and lines (Beckwith &Fisher, 1999; Mbahi, 1999). In addition, Jest (1956 cited by Mbahu, 1999) observed that

> The geometrical motifs are deeply appreciated by the Fulbe. The circles, triangles and jagged lines are reproduced on the walls of their huts, materials and poetry designs. This geometrical pattern is certainly an expression of the deep preoccupation of their intellect. (p. 45)

Further images displayed in the paintings and designs include plants with leaves, human figures, camels, horse riders, and women pounding food in a traditional mortar. Fulbe girls are not exposed to traditional physical training as they are expected to be soft and feminine in appearance, a means of further enhancing their beauty. However, circumstances may involve them in physical activities like running when chasing or redirecting cattle during herding with their brothers.

Moral Education

It is taught to girls and indeed all nomadic Fulbe siblings. The practice of gerontocracy, described by Sefa-Dei (1994) as the "traditional African respect for the authority of elderly persons for their wisdom, knowledge and closeness to the ancestors" (p.13), is widely taught and encouraged by parents and elders. All Fulbe nomadic girls learn the *pulaaku* moral code. In this they are instructed to have a good character, known as *gikku,* and to be feminine in speech and behavior. They are taught specific acts as well as general movement of the body along with shyness, in order to show respect for elders and their potential husbands' family, and they are instructed to endure pain such as during child birth silently (Kissekka, 1987).

Women or *rewbe* in Fulfulde are expected to be of good character as a pre-requisite of good morals or conduct enmeshed in the Fulani moral code. Women are expected to behave with a certain amount of diffidence and when in public to speak less than men do, except when the subject under discussion concerns them personally (Dupire, 1972). Young girls or *surbaaBe* beginning about ages four to five years are taught essential rules of the socio-moral code *mbo Dangaku.* A little girl learns among other things, never to engage in sexual play between brothers and sisters. It is forbidden to directly look at her fiancée or to visit him, and to mention the names of her future parents in-law as well as older people. Moral education is also transmitted through proverbs. Fulbe women and girls of good character command respect from their relations and in-laws. In the case of young unmarried girls their good morals are rewarded during the selection of marriage partners when Fulbe bachelors compete in a game of *sharo* meant to test manhood as well as to win their choice amongst young women of the nomadic Fulbe of Nigeria.

Quranic Education

Over the course of centuries, the very notion of education for girls has been questioned, and the practice has foundered on conflicting priorities concerning control over women, and women's appropriate roles and place in the social order. In Muslim Northern Nigeria, and indeed all Muslim communities, Quranic education is considered a formal education system (Doi, 1987; Ozigi and Ocho, 1985). The purpose and extent of Muslim education has also depended on the level of education available. It is a form of education that suits the nomadic way of life because it does not threaten the traditional features of Fulbe nomadism. Specifically for the women and girls, the flexibility of attendance, the emphasis on individualized learning, as well as the multiple entry points are appreciated by both parents and the females. This was further reiterated by Bray, Clerk and Stephens (1985 cited by Junaid, 1987):

> The Islamic system is in many respects far less dependent for its operation on specific administrative, institutional and organizational patterns. It also tends to be more flexible and as one scholar comments, has an 'admirable leisureliness'…In the Islamic system it is seen as unending process. An individual can remain a student till old age. (p. 80)

For the vast majority of Muslims, female education has entailed little more than provision of basic knowledge for performing one's prayers or reading some verses from the Quran. The approach to women's religious education among Muslims in the area known as Northern Nigeria involved granting responsibility to fathers and husbands either to train the women themselves, send them to Quranic schools, or otherwise arrange for their religious education. For older girls and particularly women of scholarly and aristocratic families, this approach has been linked to ideals of seclusion, or at least to the separation of men from women in public places (Hiskett, 1973; Pittin, 1998). Sufficient Islamic education was not generally utilized by nomadic Fulbe girls and women even in the early nineteenth century. It is evident in the writings of the prominent Fulani/Fulbe Muslim reformer and leader, Shehu Usman Danfodio (cited by Adamu 1973) that

> They leave their wives, daughters, and their captives morally abandoned, like beasts, without teaching them what God prescribes. How can they shut [them] up ... in the darkness of ignorance while daily they impart knowledge to their students [males]. (p.5)

To date young girls in this system of education are limited to the first level of education which involves memorizing the Quran, and learning the Arabic alphabet and calligraphy on the slate or *allo* and chanting large portions of the Quran in a sing song style, which makes the entire process of learning by one rote and memory rather than discussion and understanding (Callaway, 1987).

In the past, in-depth schooling was available to Fulbe women of high political and scholastic aristocracies. Certainly, Danfodio's daughter Nana Asma'u and others are examples of female Muslim aristocrats and scholars whose class gave them privilege of access to knowledge. However, Shehu Danfodio stated that, even women of this high status were often left in ignorance. The very fact of his admonitions and recommendations demonstrates that the reality of education for women was far from the ideal, and the practices he prescribed were not generally being followed (Adamu, 1975).

Furthermore, by permitting women to attend his lectures, the Shehu was condemned for permitting the mingling of sexes, with the possible consequences of immorality. His response was that the obligation to root out ignorance takes priority over women's seclusion (Hiskett, 1963;86-87). It is significant to note that even in recent times, access to Muslim education by women has been difficult. Trevor (1975) cited remarks of a Sokoto woman descended from the reformist Shehu Danfodio, that "a woman's best way to an advanced Muslim education [is] to marry a scholar, and be careful [not to] argue with him too cleverly or he would stop teaching her" (p. 252). Succeeding caliphs of the famous Fulbe empire emphasized the need for women both sedentary and nomadic to seek knowledge. Prominent amongst them was Caliph Mohammed Bello (1750-1834). In *An-Nasiha al Wadia* Bello's writing on women, Suleiman, (1987) noted that

> Mohamed Bello wanted women of the Caliphate to go out in search of knowledge, not stopping until they had made themselves pre-eminent among scholars. He wanted them as sheiks, jurists, and scholars from whose feet women and men alike will learn. (p.132)

Prominent Fulbe women in the past have encouraged and promoted Islamic education. This is evident in the works of Nana Asama'u in the mid nineteenth century. Boyd (1989) described her as a

> Prolific poetess, in Arabic, Fulfulde, and Hausa whose education network encouraged womens' education in Islamic knowledge. She organized an

> educational network *yan-taru* of women associates or disciples. Asama'u chose mature, reliable women to head women's units in the villages. Each such leader, *jaji* will from time to time bring a party
>
> of young girls and elder women (between 14 and 44 one stayed at home, tending the family) to spend some days with Asama'u for religious advice, instructions and exhortations. (p.51)

This religious education is still practiced amongst Fulbe sedentary women in northern Nigeria. Quranic learning is given to girls and women separately under the tutelage of a teacher or *Ardo/Moddibbo.* Spouses of Fulbe women from time to time also assist these women in some Islamic elementary education, as most of them have completed that stage of learning. Junaid (1987) noted that even though the Quranic school option raises the problem of access of married women and has been limited to unmarried young women and girls, nonetheless the married women were and are still provided with Quranic education through the employment of widows and some learned women or young boy and girl graduates who have been recommended by their respective teachers. Prominent Fulbe men and élites like Galandanchi (1971:9 cited by Callaway, 1987) indeed call for the promotion of Quranic education along with western education by making some scriptural citations on the need for women's literacy that

> girls in the north should be educated, but a great deal of emphasis should be placed on teaching Islamic ways of life so that they can produce a congenial Islamic environment at home and moral training for children. (p. 103)

From the above comment it is evident that Galadanchi never advocated knowledge for women so that they might discover their own intellectual interests, but only so that they would become better Muslims, wives and mothers in the Islamic way (Callaway, 1987).

Despite such calls, it is important to note that Muslim education of nomadic women especially married women who never completed their training or *saukar karatu* before being married, is more difficult due to their domestic commitments and constant migration which makes the availability of teachers, called *mallams* or *modibbo,* scarce. Hence, it is likely that most Muslim women in the pre-colonial period had little access to any education. At most, women were given only the most limited Muslim education if at all (Assie-Lumumba, 1998).

Regardless of its shortcomings, Muslim education is highly encouraged and more convenient for the nomadic Fulbe as well as compatible to their socio-economic routines. In recognition to its flexibility, the federal government as a matter of policy stated in the National Policy of Education (1981) that " As a means of accelerating development in primary education in certain areas, the state governments are already considering measures by which Quranic schools and Islammiyya schools, with necessary adjustment of curricula, could be absorbed into the primary school system" (p. 14).

The merging of some of the modern school curriculum with the traditional Islamic curriculum would better induce the Fulbe girls' participation and access to primary education by creating equal attention to both forms of education. The persistence of Quranic schooling is due to both government and private organization support (i.e., Jamaatu Nasril Islam and the influence of the Federation of Muslim Women in Nigeria) as well as women's strong faith in Islam. For the girls, attendance at such schools is viewed by parents as an important pre-school religious opportunity (Junaid, 1987). Thus the Quranic school option for nomadic women and girls will continue to receive public support of religious and traditional leaders.

Western Education for Women and Girls in Northern Nigeria

Education is a social institution influenced by other social institutions, but subordinate to politics. It tends to reflect the values of the political rulers, strongly conditioned by the history and geography of the territory concerned. It is relevant, however, to note the particularly close weave of religious, legal, family and educational institutions in traditional Muslim communities to which the nomadic Fulbe belong.

Traditional Islam provided an integrated system of community organizations regulating the personal behavior of individuals and groups in the traditional education system. Nevertheless, during the period of foreign rule by the British, problems which were sometime seen by educators, administrators or others as mainly educational or religious were really political and economic (Mason, 1993; Sanderson, 1975). In the beginning of this period, traditional rulers resisted western education which to them would bring about changes to the traditional norms, roles and cultural values of women. Similarly, the British administrators were not interested in female education because they wanted to abide by northern Nigeria's culture and traditions with regard to women and girls.

Later in the colonial period, the Northern traditional rulers who visited and attended meetings with their counterparts in southern Nigeria were challenged by the statistics on the low number of females in schools at all levels as well as their numerical weakness in the labor force especially as school teachers, nurses and home economists. Collectively, they demanded from the British overseers, changes in their educational stand on female participation through parliamentary speeches. In the later years of British rule they expanded their educational policy on girls. Subsequently, when western education was adopted, it co-existed with the Islamic educational system, and questions of whether girls were allowed to go to school and the kind of education they were to receive arose again (Pitten, 1991; Sanderson, 1975).

In the North, British educational policy on girls was limited to primary schooling but insisted on co-education, which they found cheaper to operate than separate schools for boys and girls. No government schools were provided for girls only, and co-education was for a long time the official government administrative policy (Sanderson, 1975; Tibenderana, 1983). Emirs of Argungu, Adamawa, Bornu, Ilorin and Zaria requested separate schools for girls because they feared, as noted by Tibenderana (1983)

> That co-education would have dire consequences on the spread of girls and women's education since many of their subjects will be unwilling to send their daughters to co-educational schools. This was because it was generally feared rightly or wrongly, co-education would encourage sexual immorality among female pupils. (p. 530)

In 1930, girls' schools were opened in Kano and Kastina and by 1935, three more girls' schools were established at Birnin-Kebbi, Sokoto and Argungu (Sanderson, 1975). In addition, eminent northern politicians saw the disparity in female education between the north and the south and felt the need to challenge the colonial policy towards female education in northern Nigeria. In his own contributions, one of the eminent elite of that time who later became the first prime minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, speaking at a Legislative Council Debate on March 2, 1948, noted

> Now I would have to raise two points, one is female education in the northern provinces. The British government has got one policy, which is the colonial policy of non-intervention. As regards female education in the north, I think the

> British should educate our women and I think, Sir, that all the Emirs and Chiefs in the northern provinces must be educated and I would like to move that the British interfere in this way (Adamu, 1973: 33)

By 1951 according to Sanderson (1975), there were only 108 girls in Middle Schools (secondary) and only 26 women had obtained the Elementary Teaching Certificate. In 1954 there were 219 girls in all secondary school classes. Sanderson (1975) also noted that by independence (1960) and after, one reason for low enrolment was that most girls were married before completing their elementary or immediately after their secondary education, hence, a permissive exit of girls from school was unchallenged by the British education officers, who considered it a norm of the people's culture. Trevor, (1975 cited by Pittin, 1998) recorded that "girls were permitted to leave school at the customary age of marriage, with regard to the role of women in society" (p.13). The customary marriage age was relative, from ten in Sokoto to more generally, twelve, thirteen or fourteen in the entire north. In the former provinces in the North, Pitten (1998) citing O. C. Robinson, the assistant mistress of the Girls' Centre at Kastina, in a note to the District Officer in Kastina, stated "girls attended school in the early years from the age of four with the students leaving for marriage at about fourteen or younger" (p.14). In addition, the slow development of female education in the North may be attributed to Muslim influence which sets limits upon the possible development of girls' education in Northern Nigeria.

Western education in Northern Nigeria has always been characterized by both differential access in relation to sex and class at all levels (Pittin, 1998). This reflected a convergence of British colonial interests and ideology and those of the northern aristocracy whose choice for manpower development was more on the boys than the girls.

Tibenderana (1985) observed "Since the British educational policy favored the recruitment of emir's children to the existing educational institutions, emirs who wanted to send their children to school did not have difficulty to have them admitted" (p.521). Despite the promotion of education of girls and women, the nomadic group were insignificant participants as peasant groups. Girls chosen to participate in primary school in the early days of independence were largely supplied by the palace and the aristocracy, although some of the early school girls were daughters of former slaves, retainers and other clients of the aristocracy, there by association through feudal dependency relations (Pittin, 1998). For female education probably more than for male education, the ruling class sent their own children.

The British educational policy for girls was basically to improve the quality of home life, as the curriculum concentrated on domestic subjects, hygiene and literacy in preparing them as future as wives and mothers (Sanderson, 1975, Pittin, 1991). The colonial approach to girls' education in the North condoned the traditions of the Hausa-Fulani in terms of curriculum, and this attitude basically enabled smooth acceptance by the natives and their leaders of the colonial administration. Today the colonial legacy is still evident in Northern Nigeria, where for example, the states support the orthodox system of control of women via marriage (Pitten, 1998).

It is important to note that the ruling aristocrats of northern Nigeria were basically the sedentary Fulbe who were the descendants of the flag bearers of the Usman Dan Fodio jihad. Unfortunately, their nomadic kinsmen who helped them fight the jihad were never involved in the pursuit of western education at that period. Hence, the nomadic

Fulani women within the peasantry class had no access to western education, nor did the aristocrats to the British administrators ever consider the need to involve them.

Nonetheless, the descendants of these aristocrats who now occupy very important positions in recent Nigerian politics have influenced the establishment of the Nomadic Education Policy. One of them, a professor of medicine and one time Minister of Education, Professor Aminu Jibril, recently presented a paper "Justice with dividend" at a program of the commission (cited in Nomadic Education News, June 1998). He commented on the need for the education of the nomads in general and lamented that "ignorance has eaten deep into the fabric of the pastoral nomads, and it is only through education that they will become enlightened and equally protect their fundamental human rights" (p.9). The implementation of the policy is the focus of this research study.

Educational Policies for Nomadic Education

Educational policies in most developing African nations refer to the expansion qualitative and quantitative of both formal and non-formal educational systems, as well as being a means of overseeing the organizational management of all the educational systems (Achola, 1990; Eshiwani, 1990). Many African states and indeed developing countries view their educational policies as a means to nationalization within a socialist system orientation. More often, they demonstrate these through language policies at some stage of learning; for example, in Nigeria the three major languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are used while in Tanzania, Swahili is used and in Lesotho, the Sesotho language is encouraged (Kiros, 1990;Magalula, 1990; Maravinka, 1990). In addition, according to the World Bank Report (1990) on educational policies and development, African states develop their educational systems (which they refer to as "complete education") for economic growth towards productivity and self reliance (Fafunwa, 1974; Galabawa, 1990).

The Nomadic Education Policy

Historically, there has been a sequence of educational policies in Nigeria prior to the Nomadic Education Policy (1986). Prominent ones were the colonial Phelps-Stokes Commission (1920-1922), the Fraser Report (1927), the Elliot Commission (1945), and the Ashby Commission (1960). After 1960 when independence was obtained, an innovative and significant policy, the National Policy of Education (1981) came into existence. Section 1(7) of the policy document enunciated the government's commitment to the full implementation of the policy as (a) a long life education for the nation, (b) the multiplication of education and training facilities for every Nigerian (c) learner-centred educational activity for maximum self development and fulfillment and (d) universal basic education which will take cognizance of the basic needs and potential of all citizens for continuing life long education. The commitment of the NPE further spurred the expansion of educational opportunity and was a catalyst for the reduction of the illiteracy amongst youth. The introduction of the Universal Primary Education Act (1976) gave momentum to the growth and development of formal education in Nigeria (Okeke, 1989; Ozigi and Ocho, 1981). The government's recognition of minority peoples' education in rural areas as a means of integrating all citizens is the fundamental statement of the National Policy of Education (1981):

> Nigeria's philosophy of education is based on the integration of the individual into a sound and effective citizen and equal educational opportunities for all citizens of

> the nation at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school systems. (p.7)

In view of this underlying philosophy, the Nomadic Education Policy, (1989) came into existence under the concept of a "Fair deal for the Nomads". The policy guidelines were passed under decree 41 of 12 December, 1989 charging the National Commission for Nomadic Education with the administrative functions. In policy research, the dynamics of the policy as described by Hogwood and Peters (1983) shuttles between policy innovation (described as new programs with specification of clients involving program extension and development) and program extension of an existing program.

Nomadic Education Policy Implementation

Policy implementation was left in the care of the Commission. In doing this, cognizance was taken of the characteristics of the nomads and the limitations of the earlier educational programs initiated for them in various states. These were (a) the provision of primary education to children of nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen in collaboration with states and local government; (b) academic support services through the nomadic education centres (c) provision of adult extension education and (d) established linkages with international NGOs and donor agencies for collaboration and partnership in program implementation (Tahir, 1999).

The Nomadic Education Policy basically emphasizes primary and adult education and was designed to meet a number of objectives. It was to increase the low literacy rate which was only between 0.2% and 2.0% (Tahir, 1999). In addition, the education of women and girls would improve the productivity of children and adults as well as promote social justice and equity by sensitizing the nomads to their basic human and constitutional rights as bonafide Nigerians (Tahir, 1998). Access to schooling, and economic and social empowerment were key aspects of the policy.

The schooling of nomadic Fulbe girls. Since the initiation of the policy, over 1360 schools have been built in the country. The policy is more concerned with girls' schooling at the primary education level, as no specification on further education is outlined in the policy. Since the inception of the policy, girls' participation and access to schooling has been lower than that of boys as is evident in various statistics. In 1998 there were 1,321 nomadic schools in Nigeria with a total school enrolment of 92,290 boys and 65, 547 girls (Tahir, 1999). The non completion rate for boys and girls is very high.

Further detailed statistics (Table 1) corroborate the high gender disparity of enrolment between girls and boys. In a paper presented at the Inter-university Collaborative Teacher Education conference, 6-9th December, 1999, the executive director, Professor Gidado Tahir, presented the enrolment data from 1990-1998. The statistics shows disparity in gender enrolment in primary schools continuously to the disadvantage of girls.

Table 1

Enrolment of nomadic primary school pupils in Nigeria by gender 1990-1998

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	DIFFERENCE	PARITY RATE
1990	13,763	5,068	8,695	54%
1991	25,942	10,559	15,383	58%
1992	33,463	16,689	16,774	67%
1993	38,335	15,253	23,082	57%
1994	42,738	19,094	23,644	62%
1995	56,759	35,751	21,008	77%
1996	63,638	40,938	22,700	78%
1997	71,695	47,081	24,614	79%
1998	89,931	65,855	24,076	85%

Source: Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics Department (NCNE) Kaduna, Tahir (1999).

The parity rate increased from 54% in 1990 to 85% in 1998. Disparity in enrolment continues to exist despite the enlightened campaign by the Commission. The monitoring, evaluation and statistics department of the Commission data between 1990-1999 reveal great disparity as illustrated. Commenting on the data Tahir (2000) stressed that the Commission will continue to intensify efforts to boost levels of enrolment in order to reduce gender disparities in nomadic schools. The continuing gender disparity on enrolment is of major concern.

Table 2

Statistics of nomadic primary school in Nigeria 1990-1999

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Classes	No. of Teachers	Pupils' Enrolment		
				M	F	Total
1990	329	329	886	13,763	5,068	18,837
1991	473	556	1,489	25,942	10,559	36,501
1992	649	1,397	2,491	33,463	16,689	50,152
1993	676	1,617	2,362	38,335	15,253	53,981
1994	778	1,727	2,919	42,738	19,094	61,862
1995	860	1,958	3,170	56,759	35,751	91,508
1996	940	3,614	2,919	63,638	40,938	104,577
1997	1.098	4,367	3,355	78 949	56 072	135 02
1998	1,321	4,926	4,208	92,290	65,547	157,837
1999	1,369	5,645	4,353	97,524	65,837	163,361

Source: Monitoring, Evaluation and Statistics Department (NCNE) Kaduna,Tahir (1999).

The adult education programs for women. Adult education referred to by Darken & Marrian (1982) as "a process whereby persons with major social roles characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about change in knowledge, attitudes, values or skills" (p.9). Prominent Nigerian writers of adult education like Fafunwa (1967; 1974), Omolewa (1981), and Tahir (1991), posited that it is formal and informal instruction, controlled by experience, for mature persons so they may attain social, economic, political, cultural or technical competence or individual development. Furthermore, Ahmed (1998) sees adult education as the entire process of organized and systematic education designed to increase the knowledge and skills already possessed by adults.

Various writers (Baynes, 1991; Ezeomah, 1983; Junaid, 1987; Lar, 1991; Tiberana, 1985) have traced the historical attempts made by Christian missionaries from various denominations in bringing adult education to the nomads, such as the Anglican "Wusasa mission" in Zaria Kaduna State and other christian missions in Plateau State. These attempts failed woefully because the nomads being Muslims felt it was a way for them to be converted (Ezeomah, 1983; Junaid, 1987).

Nomadic men's efforts for adult education were as a result of their contact with some sedentary settlers during migration whose activities in adult education impressed them. They became conscientized by the various groups and structures which changed their attitude to western education from non-receptive to receptive. The nomads started their self-help adult education programs in Bauchi in 1972 through their cattle breeders association, *Kungiyar Miyetti Allah* [only males were in attendance]. Ten years later (1982) the men started a similar program for their women at Huke, a village near Miango with the combined efforts of nomadic men living at Bassa Local Government. At that time, the basics of the self help program for women centered on reading and writing skills as the focus of the curriculum (Ezeomah, 1983).

The pilot adult education action plan. Primarily, the four year Plan, 1996 to 2000 Title (11: 11), stipulated the following objectives for the components of adult education for women: (a) functional literacy and numeracy; and (b) skills acquisition relevant to the products and marketing of dairy production and maternal responsibilities.

The rationale was to provide functional knowledge and skills to nomadic women so as to empower them and enable them to improve themselves and also contribute more meaningfully to the improvement of their occupational and domestic duties, general health of their children and family development for the development of their communities.

In most developing countries despite their political propaganda such as "Education For All" the government cannot meet the costs of educational programs for all their citizens. Therefore the Commission, through the support of the federal government, initiated a project "Capacity building for the sustainability of the nomadic education program". The capacity building project was initiated as a result of inadequate funding, concerns of stakeholders involved in the implementation of the nomadic education program, and above all, the fear that the federal government might discontinue the program. The project rationale was articulated in the National Commission for Nomadic Education's Action Plan (1996-2000): "Dwindling financial resources from the government necessitates the need to develop people's capacity to build, fund and manage their own schools in order to engender the sustainability of the program" (p.4). It called for sensitizing local communities to their resources and to the need to fund their own schools for the survival of the program. The Commission's procedure was to create awareness through radio programs and jingles on the national radio stations and through mobile cinemas in collaboration with NGOs. In 1997, the Commission established a Community-Initiated Education Projects Committee, which scrutinized requests for the construction, renovation and rehabilitation of classrooms or school buildings, the provision of furniture and the building of wells for the communities. The nomads responded with the development of 150 schools which are community run. In addition, over 54 literacy classes in 12 northern states were expanded with an enrollment of 925 males and 1060 females (Tahir, 1999). The response by the nomads for the well being of the females in the community educational projects is noted in Table 3. Schools run by community self-help are considered to have better quality management as noted by Tahir (1999). To substantiate both the government and the nomads' efforts for women literacy classes, NGOs like AFRICARE have assisted in the provision of literacy classes, e.g., at Rafin Guza in Kaduna State, which increased its enrolment by 105 between December, 1996 and April 1997 (Tahir, 1999:15).

The 1987 Blue Print, later documented as decree no. 41 of 1989, identified the need and objectives as well as a strategy for adult education programs for women. This was done in collaboration with the National Commission for Mass Literacy Adult and Non-formal Education which aimed to reduce of adult female illiteracy rate by one third, i.e., from 60% to 40.7% by the year 1995 (Tahir, 2000). NMEC mounted a literacy campaign to foster participation through the Each-One-Teach-One (EOTO) or Fund-The-Teaching-Of-One (FTO) strategy (FME, 1992;Yoleye, 1994). As noted by Ahmed (1998), realization of this urgent need for adult education prompted the National Commission for Nomadic Education to initiate contacts and hold a series of consultations with representatives of nomadic communities and the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education.

The consultations led to the production of a proposal for a pilot adult education program on "Functional and Citizenship Education" for nomadic women and men (NCNE, 1996). For effective implementation of the program, the NCNE provided classrooms [mobile] and facilities, day-to-day administration, and adapted instructional materials, while the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-formal

Education provide primers for instruction, the instructors and their allowances through the state agencies.

Recently in a national discourse, Tahir, (2000), the Executive Secretary of the Nomadic Commission delivered up-to-date information on the policy's programs. He noted that adult education has made a steady growth as a matter of policy in order to make basic education accessible to the nomads.

Table 3

Drive to establish nomadic literacy classes, 1996/1999

S/N	State	LGA	No. of Adult Lit. Classes	ENROLMENT FIGURE		Total
				Male	Female	
1	Abuja	FCT	2	-	43	43
2	Adamawa	Song	3	81	5	86
3	Bauchi	Ningi	3	-	109	103
4	Gombe	Gombe	4	67	-	67
5	Jigawa	a. Babura b. Roni	1 1	20 35	- -	55
6	Kaduna	a. S/Gari b. K/north c. K/South/Igabi d. Kachia	1 3 3 2	- - 58 49	20 80 29 -	236
7	Kano	a. Wudil b. Kura c. Nasarawa	1 1 2	30 36 30	- - 15	111
8	Kogi	Lokoja	2	48	25	72
9	Kwara	a. Kaiama b. Baruten	1 3	76 -	- -	76
10	Niger	a. Mokwa b. Palko c. Gurara	1 2 1	41 25 -	- 42 61	169
11	Plateau	a. B/Ladi b. Bassa c. Mangu d. Bokkos	6 2 3 1	45 72 70 45	143 359 81 -	815
12	Taraba	a. Lau b. Sardauna	1 2	26 36	20 8	90
14	Yobe	Fune	2	35	20	55
	Grand Total		54	925	1,060	1,978

Source: Monitoring, Evaluation & Statistics Department (NCNE) Kaduna,Tahir (1999)

In late 1999, the Commission organized an in-house writers' workshop to develop primers on literacy and numeracy in Fulfulde language which were used in adult literacy centres through out the country. The commission's action plan called for the identification of three different grazing zones as pilot sites for the development of primers in Fulfulde (Action Plan 1996-2000:11).

The delivery system for the nomadic women is facilitated through distance education radio programs (Interactive Radio Distance Learning Scheme), and extension services and outreach programs, seminars, and workshops (Ahmed, 1998; Tahir, 1996; Tahir, 1998). The Interactive Radio Distance Learning Scheme is intended to provide functional basic education with the following objectives: (a) to sensitize the nomads to the nature, causes and possible solutions to their daily problems; (b) to mobilize the nomads to take collective action in order to solve their socio-economic, political and educational problems; (c) to provide the nomads with relevant coping skills and knowledge required for dealing with the complexities of modern society and (d) to give them a critical understanding of their rights, duties and obligations as citizens of Nigeria (Tahir, 2000). The elements of the scheme are radio broadcasts, print-based materials, and audiocassette recordings of regular radio broadcasts which supplement print materials. Learners are encouraged to form radio listening groups. There are about 73 radio listening groups and discussion groups nation wide (Tahir, 2000). In 1999 the commission decided to expand in order to provide greater accessibility to the Interactive Radio Distance Learning Scheme. Meetings were been held with active community leaders between 1-13 March, 1999, in Kaduna and Ibadan to sensitize the nomads on the need for their support and participation in the programs.

In order to enrich the program a workshop on a radio curriculum for the adult education component of the Interactive Radio Distance Learning scheme was held 3-4th June 1999 (Tahir, 2000). The developed curriculum specified learning content, presentation format, instructional resources, evaluation and post-broadcast activities.

An analysis of the programs should include: the number of programs directed at women compared to those for male nomads; whether the radio education listening groups are all female for female broadcasts and at what time are such listening groups operating in view of the women's domestic and commercial commitments. Additional questions are whether any women leaders of cooperative nomadic societies are included in the consultation meetings with leaders periodically organized by the Commission in order for them to conscientize their women colleagues and if not, why are they excluded. These questions are included in the inquiries of this study.

Chapter 3

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION MODELS AND THE NOMADIC EDUCATION POLICY

The education of women and girls has become the focus of attention of educational policy makers. In the developing countries in particular female education is seen as a more effective means toward modernization of the nation than the traditional models of development for women and girls which focused more on agricultural skills and family life. Particularly in Nigeria today, the education of women and girls has been a consistent social policy since it was documented as an educational policy in 1986. This chapter provides a brief overview of three policy models are analyzed in relation to the Nomadic Education Policy. These are the orthodox, participatory and indigenous knowledge models. Additionally, a gender policy implementation analysis model is outlined as a framework for the policy implementation analysis undertaken in this study.

The Orthodox Policy Approach

Models are an abstraction of some part of the real world. They are a representation of reality that is adequate for the problem of concern. Made up of variables relevant to the issues of concern and their relationship, models are a simplified version of reality (Nachmias, 1979). Policy analysis works from a theoretical base that allows problems to be interpreted with the aim of clarifying issues, designing alternatives and consequences, and thus improving the basis for policy decisions (Jenkins, 1978; Lawrence Jnr, 1980). From a qualitative perspective, Lawrence (1980) describes policy analysis as an analytical concept of intellectual activity and motivation, an attitude and approach rather than a body of specific methods.

Basically, the orthodox approach can best be described as a pseudo-global approach to education. It connects between governments of home countries and world multilateral bodies on policies and decision making issues related to educational development. Generally, governments are at the receiving end of policy decisions based on their dependence on resources from these bodies who serve as donor organizations. With such dependency, the organizations influence the policy structures and implementation of educational programs especially in developing countries. Hence, the approach is encircled with politics and the power of governments and the multilateral bodies. Additionally, Crosby (1996) noted that policy decisions and implementation tend to be highly political as politicians in government take care to balance constituency interests while the technocrats are concerned with maximizing output and rationalizing scarce resources for educational development. According to the World Bank Report (1990) on development of educational policies in East African countries which reflects other parts of the Sub-Saharan countries, governments are the sole custodians of social policies as they promulgate/plan policies. According to African educational policy writers, most often these educational policies are expressed as (a) political statements or manifestos; (b) reports of special commissions (as occurred with the Nomadic Education Policy); (c) national educational plans embedded in national developmental plans; and (d) Ministry of Education acts, orders or circulars (as in the case of the Lesotho National University Act) (Psacharopoulos, 1990). These policy statements often refer to the overall promotion of cultural needs and political ideologies, and to financing and system regulations (Lawrence Jnr, 1980; Magalula, 1990; Maravanyika, 1990; Pascharopoulos, 1990). Grindle and Thomas, (1990, cited by Crosby, 1996) commented that for effective policy implementation human, technical and financial resources are set aside. The orthodox system coordinate and communicate by directing the implementation strategies because the government politically controls the financial and material resources.

One form of the orthodox policy approach is for governments to work in collaboration with multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO,UNICEF, UNDP, The Ford Foundation, the Inter-American Development Bank and OXFAM. More often, the reports of these international agencies are expressed as educational policies for most if not all-African countries. One example is UNESCO and the 1961 Addis Ababa conference (Psacharopoulos, 1990). As noted by Nelson (1989), and Gordon (1994 cited by Crosby, 1996), intractable economic crises have forced governments to seek external assistance from multilateral organizations and donor nations. Kent (1995) identified UNESCO's basic support for educational expansion through financial support for social cohesion with cultural development to improve sustainable human development. Their assistance leads the government to accept their policy stand through prescription on educational matters such as an emphasis on the relevance of the content to the society, educational interactions, quality education through curriculum, reformed personnel policies, evaluation of schools and investment on infrastructure.

Significant educational policies on strategies and processes of education are transferred to developing countries through World Bank external writings and through formal meetings (Burnett, 1996). In the September 1994 meeting of the World Bank on educational expansion, the review process brought significant changes in drafts by paying attention to adult literacy, and meeting educational challenges by statements such as:

> reaching those without access, especially girls, is a pressing issue, particularly in Africa and South Asia. Equity is a major issue involving not only girls but also

> the poor, including linguistic and ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups. (Burnett, 1996: 217)

The World Bank's attention to equity in education has two principal aspects: (a) the right of everyone to a basic education, that is to acquire the basic knowledge and skills necessary to function well in the society; and (b) government's obligation to ensure that qualified potential students are not denied education because they are poor, female, from disadvantaged ethnic (including linguistic) minorities, or geographically remote regions (Burnett, 1996:219). In addition, Kent (1995) asserted that World Bank diagnoses assist developing countries through the work of their experts on equity-budget allocation, the prescription of a coherent policy framework, vision, accountability and evaluation mechanisms, and focus on quality, responsiveness and equity. They also determine the continuity of educational policy implementation through financial and material assistance.

However, there are some conflicting issues with regard to foreign donors' assistance. Sometimes they contravene their support by diverting the governments of developing countries to other aspects of developmental policies. Examples are the role of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank mandated Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) and loans for support of education to African states (Gladwin, 1991). In exchange for assistance and loans, donor agencies often require substantial changes in the economic and social policy framework. The effects of such policies have an undue influence on educational activities. Education, a component of social-sector spending, has suffered as a result of the low levels of government spending (Brown, 1997; Rose, 1995). In addition, Bacha (1988), and Gladwin (1991) mentioned that lending policies shifted from project-oriented funds to conditional funds leading to deflationary stabilization policies aimed at reducing budget reductions by governments of developing countries.

Cuts in recurrent expenditure lead to poorly maintained buildings, shortages of learning aids and materials, and increases in class size. Wages of teachers have also tended to fall in real terms (Commonwealth Expert Group, 1989; Jolly and Stewart, 1987 cited by Rose, 1995). Paramount effects on educational management include teacher retrenchment, and the closure of most schools in rural areas leading to fewer schools as revealed in the study of the Commonwealth Expert Group (1989). In some cases there were mergers of schools which created long distances for pupils to travel, a particular problem for girls, and which in turn increased other costs of schooling, such as costs of transportation (Brown & Kerr, 1997; Kainji, 1994 cited by Rose, 1995). Key problems cited include poor quality of schooling, untrained teachers, poor teacher behavior (some of them diverted their attention into trading or farming to support their poor salaries), inadequate supply of books, additional financial commitments on parents i.e., increased PTA funds, levies on furniture, sports fees, registration fees, and stationery (Brown, 1997:23).

These additional expenses leave parents with a decision concerning schooling. Because of the differences in parental perceptions of opportunity and the direct comparative costs of boys' and girls' education, it has been observed that, because of economic hardship, daughters are often withdrawn from school before sons. Boys are more likely withdrawn at the secondary level in order to contribute to the family, whereas girls are withdrawn from primary school to work in the household (Chant, 1994 cited by Rose, 1995; Evans, 1991; Geisler and Narrowe, 1990); Imam, 1983; Moser, 1992; Rodriguez, 1994).

In both rural and urban areas African families faced by hardship are forced to make difficult choices on whom to educate amongst the children in the family. Many times the economic gain to families is the greatest consideration for most heads of African households, and a preference for boys' schooling is the result. It is believed that boys will assist the family at the end of schooling while girls will leave home to be married to another family. This further decreases the girls' accessibility to schooling and increases the number of females who drop out of education (FAWE Report, 1998; Gladwin, 1991; Hauseman, 1998; Kibera, 1996). In addition, in some countries like Zambia, a study by the World Bank Poverty Assessment (1994) commented: [this] "was a general feeling as more girls were withdrawn from schools than boys; it was noted that girls were often pulled out of school for early marriage in order to obtain finances for boys' schooling"(p. 22).

Despite some intervening social and economic policies on educational development which leave women and girls at a disadvantage, the World Bank has gradually introduced measures to protect social services, including education from the direct and indirect negative impacts of structural adjustment (Noss, 1991, cited by Rose, 1995). This has been achieved both by providing Education Sector Adjustment Loans (SECALs), as well as including education targets in SAP conditionalities. African governments direct and sustain their educational programs through rigid structures. Whatever measures are taken by the orthodoxy it is clear that their policies have adverse effects on the quality and quantity of education, create gender gaps in terms of a high drop-out rate of female enrolment, as well as create further inaccessibility for the participation of females in schooling. For the few nomadic girls in schools, such economic hardship may bring a complete standstill to girls' access to schooling considering the overall cost on parents.

The Orthodox Policy Implementation Model

Despite the aforementioned issues involved in educational management, the focus of the orthodox approach is on implementation. Policy implementation is an ongoing, linear process that must be managed (Grindle and Thomas, 1991 cited by Brinkerhoff, 1996). Furthermore, Bardach (1977, cited by Crosby, 1996) commented that policy implementation is much like an assembly process: putting together pieces from different sources with resources, with perhaps rather different objectives than those originally intended, and then reshaping those pieces into a mechanism capable of producing the results called for. In addition, Brinkerhoff (1996) stated "the policy implementation process is at least as political as technical, and is complex and highly interactive. It calls for consensus building, participation of key stakeholders, conflict resolution, compromise, contingency planning and adaptation" (p.1396). Kiggundu (1994) also reiterated that policy implementation in developing countries is frequently managed by reactive response to crises and firefighting. He argued that improving implementation performance in developing countries, is fundamentally a question of managing external relationships and interdependencies, while simultaneously ensuring that basic operating tasks are accomplished.

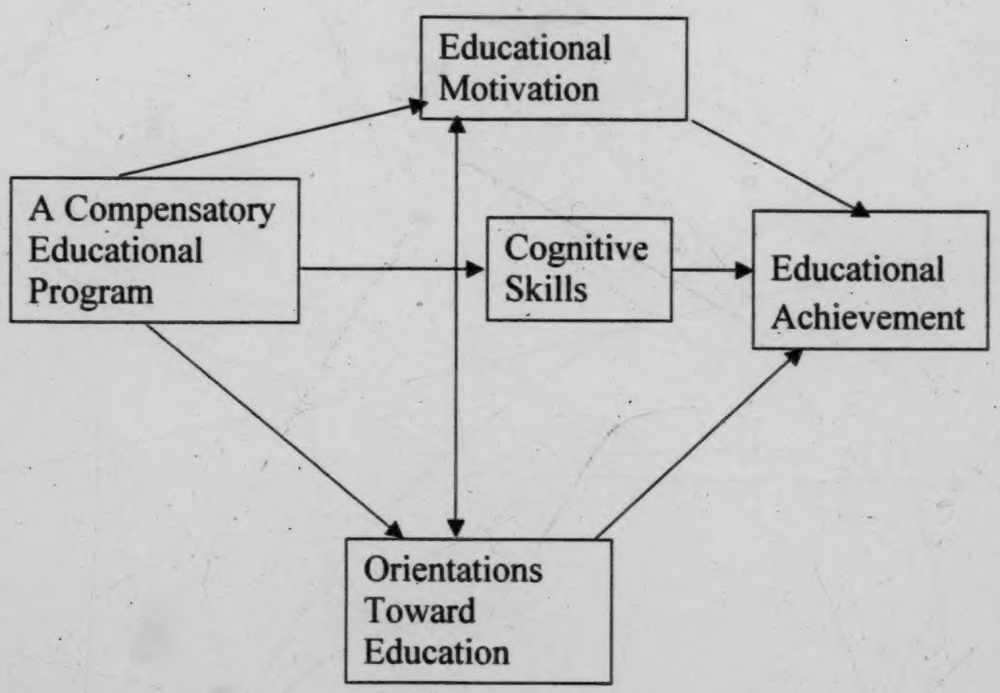
The literature on policy implementation within the orthodox policy approach deals mostly with issues related to the content of the policy and its political support or compliance (Matland, 1995 cited by Crosby, 1996; Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1989; Sabatier, 1988). On educational issues, such as policy implementation and educational achievement, Nachmias (1979) reiterated the importance of expected relationships between a compensatory educational program and educational achievement which are complied with by the recipients of the policy. This is explained in figure 2.

Figure 2 specifies the relationships within a compensatory educational program consisting of intensive tutoring and extra curricular activities (the program variables) which is expected to improve the educational achievement of underprivileged children (the target population). The arrows represent the hypothesized causal relations, and the goal of the program is to produce a positive change in the level of educational achievement. Nachimias (1979) noted the complexity of the process based on three critical variables affecting the educational achievement of such learners. They are general attitudes towards education, educational motivation, and cognitive skills. These can only be positively promoted through increases in direct educational achievement as in educational motivation and the level and type of cognitive skills.

Thus, the model specifies that the expected relations and compensatory educational programs are more important than the program variable and the critical intervening factors (Nachimias, 1979). The program is expected to enhance educational achievement through its impact on educational motivation, orientation toward education, and cognitive skills.

The implementation model of the orthodox policy approach is based on a systems approach. Frohock (1979); Nachimias (1979) and Jenkins (1978) described it as the interaction between authorities in relation to structures, and consultation with the recipients of policies.

Figure 2


Educational Motivation
A Compensatory Educational Program
Cognitive Skills
Educational Achievement
Orientations Toward Education

The expected relationship between compensory educational program and educational achievement. Source: Nachimias (1979). Public policy evaluation.

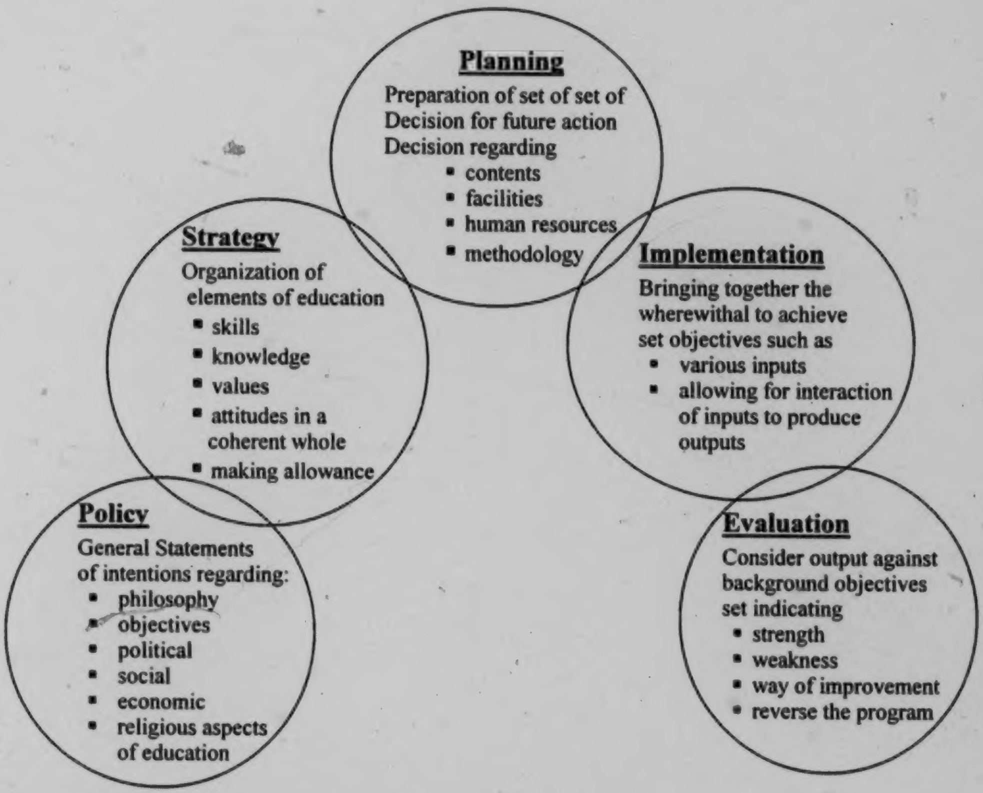
Frohock (1979) explained further its interdependency of activities, which include feedback on both policy and output. The interaction in the system model basically deals with political decisions on variables like allocation or distribution of resources as well as assigning administrative positions to manage the implementation of the policies' goals and objectives.

The Nomadic Education Policy is compatible with the description of the orthodox implementation model because of its interactive nature. The policy structures interact with government political philosophy, the traditional and religious ideals of the Fulbe nomads along with the availability and distribution of resources for the implementation of the program. The Nomadic Education Policy as earlier mentioned has been a product of political decision on rights, justice and equity to both upland and riverine peoples. It was a political decision of power holders and stakeholders whose environment is threatened by high level of illiteracy in comparison to other parts of the country. The interaction as well as intervention of these people within the political and cultural system, ensured the acceptability of the policy by the locals or the nomads through their participation in the implementation of the programs. To this effect the interaction of stakeholders with political power and the availability of resources facilitated the implementation of the policy with an expectation of a positive output in terms of an increase in productivity and sustainability of the dairy economy by the Fulbe women and girls. This is referred to in policy studies by Frohock (1979); Nachimias (1979), and the OECD (1997), as achievements or outputs of policy orientation.

The focus of the NPE policy orientation which came originally from the National Policy of Education (1981) is to ensure legal rights and equal privileges to knowledge for the minority Fulbe in general, as well as ensure access of women and girls to schooling, a primary focus of a minority in minority education (Ezewu & Tahir, 1997). Policy observers and researchers of education in Nigeria (Ezewu and Tahir, 1997) explained a general conceptual model of policy implementation for the education of the nomads in the next page.

The interaction in this model is based on a pseudo-system model in view of the interlocking of circles representing identified structures. A closer examination of the model might be linked to a linear policy implementation orientation because the circles end up disjointed at the bottom part of the circles as there are no links between policy and evaluation structures. This observation can rightly be identified as a weakness of the model which needs adjustment so that policy strengths and weaknesses can be identified to either improve or reverse policy programs for policy- innovation, policy-maintenance or policy-extension (Jenkins,1978).

Figure 3


Planning
Preparation of set of set of
Decision for future action
Decision regarding
contents
facilities
human resources
methodology
Strategy
Organization of
elements of education
skills
knowledge
values
attitudes in a
coherent whole
making allowance
Implementation
Bringing together the
wherewithal to achieve
set objectives such as
various inputs
allowing for interaction
of inputs to produce
outputs
Policy
General Statements
of intentions regarding:
philosophy
objectives
political
social
economic
religious aspects
of education
Evaluation
Consider output against
background objectives
set indicating
strength
weakness
way of improvement
reverse the program

Adopted Implementation Model of the Nomadic Education Policy.

Source: Ezewu and Tahir (1997). Ecology and education.

Within the orthodox policy style, further policy approaches used by the government in implementing educational policies of the Nomadic Education Policy are focused on assimilation, accommodation, and multiculturalism.

Assimilation. The first and the more usual policy approach in nomadic education is that of assimilation which is aimed at substituting the values of the dominant settled majority for the traditions of the nomads. Csapo (1982 cited by Junaid, 1987) supported the political aims of assimilation which are directed at turning minority group learners into members of the dominant group through the use of the standard, universal curriculum, language, values and socio-economic aspirations taught in the schools. In the majority of the cases (e.g., Gypsies, Lapps, Aborigines, Inuit), this practice has derived from an insidious stereotyping of the minority group as the problem (Junaid, 1987). They have been defined in a negative sense by the dominant culture as people who lack something and who are condemned to cultural extinction. As a result the continuation of their nomadic life has been debated and questioned by the host governments (Varlet and Mossoumian, 1975 on Iran; and Paulston, 1976, on Sweden, cited by Junaid, 1987). The dominant tribes control government policies, hence, the ultimate aim of nomadic education is to introduce them to a settled life. In this respect "In the corridors of international agencies and the desert capitals, the cry goes up, "How do we settle the nomads?" (Cunnison, 1967, cited by Junaid, 1987:10).

In addition, the government strategy of using regular schools for the participation of nomadic girls and boys is a means of assimilating them to the cultures of the majority children in the class. This was noted by Alba and Chamlin (1983, cited by Junaid, 1987) who commented: "education is assumed widely to bear an important relation to assimilation that it introduces the individual to an ethnically widening circle of classmates as he or she proceeds higher in the educational system" (p. 384).

This idea is visible in the implementation of the Nomadic Education Policy in the adoption and use of regular or conventional schools for the nomadic girls and boys on attainment of primary education. Only a few nomadic parents have allowed their children to attend regular schools in places like Plateau, Kano, and Bauchi states (Ezeomah, 1983 cited by Junaid, 1987). For many nomadic families the attendance of the girl-child at school represents loss of labor which in turn affects their domestic economy. In the pastoralist socio-economic system, which is organized around the family, the children form an economically valuable part. Adepetu (1982) has extensively discussed this socio-economic implication of formal education for nomadic children. In most cases, Fulbe girls and boys find the environment uncomfortable which demotivates their learning capabilities and results in low achievement. For example, Tahir (1998) observed that nomadic girls from primary schools hardly proceed further because they consider the school environment to be hostile.

In addition, the federal government's language policy for instruction in Fulfulde referenced in the Nomadic Education Policy is commendable. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the Fulfulde dialect used for classroom instruction as well as in textbooks is that of the sedentary Fulbe which is more of the eastern dialect of Fulfulde rather than the dialect of the nomads or the *Fulbe Na' i* which is more of the western dialect spoken throughout West Africa by moving nomads such as *Mbororoen* and *Woaadebe*.

This language policy on nomadic education is an unfortunate instance of wholesale cultural imperialism (Bodley, 1975; cited by Junaid, 1987). Similar strategies have been described by Hobart and Creery (1983) on educational policies in Canada; Sutter and Stearman (1982) and Russo (1983) on educational policies for the traditional-oriented Aboriginals of Australia; Omar (1978) on settlement policies in Somalia; Eisa (1987) on Sudan; and Adan and Abdi (1987) on the Mongolian experience in nomadic transformation. Formal education is thought to have a powerful assimilative force and Cobern (1983: 384) and Bodley (1975) have admitted links between education and assimilation with specific respect to nation building in developing countries. Admittedly, the policy of dominant monism has succeeded in acculturating and assimilating some ethnic minorities in some countries (Ramirez III and Castenda, 1974 cited by Junaid, 1987). As a whole, although ethnic minorities differ from each other, a common thread runs through them all, and that is their suspicion and reservation towards the dominant culture. This in turn inhibits the complete implementation of the educational policy strategies on them.

Accommodation. Junaid (1987) explained accommodation as the recognition of the differences of the nomadic groups and the use of education to diminish these differences in order to integrate the nomads into the larger populations, with the ultimate goal of assimilation. He made reference to Jones (1982) on changing policies on the education of the Sami (Lapps) in Norway, Sweden and Finland; Dumont and Wax (1971:77) on American Indians; and Creery (1983:10) on changing policies with regard to Inuit education in Canada.

Various theories have been propounded for the failures of schools to influence nomadic children, leading to cultural deprivation theories which shift the blame to the parents and their children as those who possess these problematic deficiencies (Csapo, 1982: 205 cited by Junaid, 1987). The prevailing ethnocentric bias of the dominant groups had been supported by some educators who labeled children of these minority groups as "educationally disadvantaged", "underprivileged" or "culturally deprived" and so on.

With reference to the policy implementation of the Nomadic Education Policy various approaches have been and are still tried within the programs in order to foster the school success of the so-called "underprivileged". As noted in the works of Reiss, (1975, cited by Junaid, 1987), these approaches have been essentially diagnostic and remedial in orientation. Watts (1972) commented that educators in many countries have advocated for segregation of children, and special education classes among other strategies. Despite these, the policy has failed because the primary focus of accommodation has remained on preparation for assimilation into the larger society. As a result, there is now a growing concern even at the policy level of the need to support the co-existence of groups of various backgrounds within the same countries through curricular reforms (Junaid, 1987).

In terms of the Nomadic Education Policy new reforms in the education of nomadic women include the use of the native language (Fulfulde) in teaching. However, while the use of an indigenous language as a medium of instruction is a necessary pre-requisite for cultural preservation, it does not follow that using it ensures cultural transmission. Junaid (1987) made an important distinction between (a) being educated in the minority language and (b) being educated in the minority culture in the minority language. One criticism of this pattern in the Nomadic Education Policy implementation is demonstrated in the outreach programs where the resource persons who are invited into demonstration classes are often not knowledgeable in Fulfulde, but teach in the majority language of Hausa or English (with the use of an interpreter). Furthermore, some curricular skills taught to the women like bead-making amongst others, are not indigenous to them while the women are conversant with and could benefit more from improved systems of spinning. This structural default in the implementation network of the Nomadic Education Policy implies the need for a reassessment of the needs and wants of the participants.

Multiculturalism. In most communities with a significant presence of minority peoples in formal education, educational services provided for them by their governments give little or no consideration to the effects of their cultural background on learning and cognitive development. Smolitz (1981 cited by Junaid 1987) in his article "Culture, ethnicity and education" expounded:

> What multiculturalism means, however, is that these same minority group members would be allowed and even encouraged to maintain and develop their native languages and cultures along side the dominant one. A "balanced" bilingual who can switch from one language to another with ease provides the best example of such bilingual individuals. Bilingualism is, however one facet of bi-culturalism, because other aspects of the heritage and family relationships may also be involved. (p.20-21)

In such a society, he further maintained, multiculturalism involved at least some members of the dominant groups acquiring aspects of minority cultures and internalizing them for their benefit.

In the case of the Nomadic Education Policy, multiculturalism is likely to operate because the National Policy of Education from which the Nomadic Education Policy is drawn makes provision for the transmission of the major (dominant) ethnic languages and cultures of Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo within the national education system.

The three factors Smolitcz (1981) outlined as essential for achieving multiculturalism in an ethnically plural society such as Nigeria are (a) to study their mother tongue in its cultural context (including the acquisition of literacy); (b) to gain access to an ethnic community language and culture other than their own and (c) to understand and value the multicultural nature of society and learn to appreciate the various cultures within it (p. 33-34).

The Nomadic Education Policy needs to recognize the diversity of cultural language and economic practices between the nomadic Fulbe and their sedentary kin as well as between them and the dominant (Hausa) culture surrounding them. This will allow the policy implementers to explore approaches that are more appropriate to the Fulbe's education. The main thrust of the report "Education for All", that educational problems of ethnic minority peoples should be seen in the context of a changed society to which all should address themselves still needs to be kept in mind.

This review show that in addition to being prone to criticism on issues such as their myopic attitude to participation in education as well as a lack of understanding of how cultural roles determine access, the official approaches are also inappropriate because they are based on an outdated picture of the nomadic Fulbe women.

The Participatory Policy Approach

Developmental theorists and practitioners readily associate participation with the writings of Illich who urged deprofessionalization in all domains of lifeschooling, health care, and transportation planning in order to make ordinary people responsible for their own well-being (Goulet, 1989). A similar message was preached by the late Indian educator J. P. Naik, (1984), but the strongest affirmation of the superior value of participation over elite decision making comes from Paulo Freire. For Freire, the supreme touchstone of development is whether people who were previously treated as mere objects, known and acted upon, can now actively know and act upon, thereby becoming subjects of their own social destiny. According to him their participation creates chances for them to become active subjects of knowledge and actions, and they begin to construct their proper human history and engage in processes of authentic development. A more succinct working definition adopted by Marshall Wolfe and the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNIRISD) is highly useful in developmental circles. According to Wolfe (cited by Goulet 1989) participation designates "organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in a given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control" (p.165). This definition has the advantage of being simple and practical and can serve as a springboard from which to assess the merits and limits of participation in development.

Participation is a key issue in policy implementation; it relates to the technical prospects, and is central to the state realignments associated with democratization and good governance (Brinkerhoff, 1996). Furthermore, Kiggundu and Goldsmith (1994) touched on its fundamental place in strategic management through identification and involvement of stakeholders. According to them, participation and stakeholder's issues are integral to the interactions of the implementing partners especially in Africa on matters of health and literacy. This approach is in partnership with the orthodox approach for the implementation of educational programs in general and particularly for women and girls. It focuses on training, scholarships, availability and flexibility of various curricula as well as other social policies that enhance their understanding of health, nutrition, reproduction and production issues.

Although the need for more popular participation in the development process is generally acknowledged, increasingly it has been accepted that genuine participation should embody some form of empowerment of women and girls, by getting them involved in the program cycle and decision making as actors of their own development (Schneider and Lebercier, 1995). Participatory approaches and instruments suggested by many authors emphasize the roles of local organizations otherwise referred as community based or non governmental organizations (NGO's). According to Gordenker and Weiss, (1995 cited by Vakil, 1997) NGOs are "private, self-governing, formal and non-profit [operations] which act on behalf of or represent civil society;[their goal is to] improve relationships between the NGO sector and the state" (p.2059). Vakil (1997) stated that "NGOs are self-governing, private, non-profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life of disadvantaged people" (p.2060).

Another classification scheme for NGOs was proposed by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) in 1985, which specifically focused on women NGOs. DAWN placed NGOs within the broad categories of "institutional location, organizational composition, and activity content" (Vakil, 1997: 2061). DAWN further sub-divided these into seven overlapping types based on how effectively the NGOs met the goals of feminism, and the extent to which they assisted women in achieving empowerment. In a paper prepared for a conference in London in 1987, Elliot identified a few orientations: service to a specific group's development "the support of developmental projects which have as an ultimate goal of the improvement of the capacity of a community) and empowerment (one that sees poverty as a result of political processes and is therefore committed to enter those processes" (p.58).

Brenton (1989) in discussing NGOs in Africa focuses on the level of operation. He distinguished between community based and national NGOs (which he subsumes under the more general title of "indigenous". Within indigenous NGOs he further distinguished on the basis of client membership organizations that help themselves and service organizations that help others. One example of such organizations, ACORD, is devoted to community-based activities and has been gender sensitive on poverty alleviation consensus in Africa since 1976. Their developmental programs are within the framework of Women In Development (WID) which most African governments and multilateral organizations use. They have five distinct steps developed by Sarah Longwe (cited by Hadjipateras, 1997):

> Improvement of women in terms of *welfare* (basic survival); *access to resources* (including opportunities for self realization; *conscientization* (an awareness of and will to alter gender inequalities; *participation* (including an equal role in decision-making); and *control* (in both personal and public domains). (p. 29)

ACORD's strategies and methodologies include "gender-aware participatory planning and evaluation" using methods like Participatory Rural Appraisal to promote community participation. These organizations emphasize and promote inclusion of gender needs in planning and development. In practical terms these gender needs involve responding to immediate perceived sensitivity. . . [and are] concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, healthcare division of labor, power and control, and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal ages and women's control over their bodies" (Molyneux, 1985, cited by Vakil, 1997: 2066).

One prominent NGO concerned with female education in Africa is the Forum of African Women Educationists, FAWE, an organization that brings together women ministers in charge of education systems, vice chancellors of universities, and other senior women policy makers in education in Africa. Founded and registered in Kenya in 1992 and as a Pan-African NGO in 1993, it has 56 full members drawn from 30 African countries in which Nigeria is an active member. Its goal is to use its intellectual resources to implement and improve strategies that have the potential to accelerate female participation in education towards achieving Education For All. Through its Experimentation and Demonstration Grants Program, it funds projects in education policy review and analysis; advocacy, community mobilization and gender sensitization; preventing drop-out and wastage; improving girls' achievements in science and mathematics; and providing practical tools, guidelines and pamphlets for gender sensitization of education policy makers, practitioners and the media. Despite its potential impact, observers of the organization have identified some defaults in its membership. In many African states the membership is exclusively composed of elites rather than incorporating a majority of the grassroot women. Rather than relying only on the so-called 'think tank' members it should allow open membership for effective participation of all categories of women in education.

NGOs have been the principal force behind the development of more participatory programs. Because the NGOs do not have the relevant financial incentives, they need to collaborate with strong national programs especially in developing countries (Tripp, 1993). Participation is necessary for development and should be a people centered development which assigns priority to the satisfaction of such basic human needs as self reliance, and active preservation of cultural diversity in which non-elites play an active role (Goulet, 1989).

Amongst the nomadic women in Nigeria their NGOs are economic affiliations at the grassroot level, often called co-operative societies, for the purpose of taking collective social action in order to solve their problems and improve their living conditions. Prominent ones include: Fura-da-nono Women Cooperative society (Abuja); Zumo Women Multi-purpose Cooperative Society (Sumo); Sukati Yina-Gando Awaye Women (Sukati-Yina); Wainabe Dairy Multi-purpose Cooperative Society Ltd. (Laminga) Rafin Guza Nomadic Women (Kaduna); Zuchiya Tafi Jiki Nomadic Women Multi-Purpose (Kaduna); Lekae Nomadic Women Multi Purpose; Rahol Mazat Nomadic Women Multi-purpose; Rafin Karfe Nomadic Women Multi-Purpose (Plateau state). The government's commitment to female NGOs has been in the form of loans to assist their economic activities. Prominent government programs like the Family Economic Advancements Program loan scheme has advanced loans to 17 of the 95 nomadic women cooperative societies (Federal Government Report to ADEA, 1999:7).

However, even though the Commission has contributed by giving publicity to these women's cooperative societies, the management has yet to include such women NGOs on the National Commission of Nomadic Education NCNE-NGO Consultative Committee. In the NCNE 1998 annual report of meeting of the Consultative Committee held on 25th September, 1997 only the male NGOs of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association and the Al-Hayah were participants. This discrimination on membership selection leaves women at a disadvantage. Their absence from such consultative committees marginalizes them and their views and needs may not be effectively conveyed by their male counterparts. It is a primary lapse of the Commission in the implementation of the participatory model on educational issues that affects women in particular.

The Indigenous Knowledge Approach

The concept of indigenous knowledge is associated with facts and knowledge of things. Russell (cited by Pears, 1971) identified knowledge of things as knowledge by acquaintance, meaning knowledge of methods or what a person knows when he knows how to do something. Nyiri (1988) defined indigenous knowledge as skills such as social skills like speaking, and counting. He asserted that it is knowledge through experience by repeated trials and that practical knowledge which serves as the bedrock upon which all knowledge rests. Local indigenous or traditional expert knowledge and values have been objects of study and seen as important in mobilization or resistance as well as solidarity or division in the politics and scholarship of community development or empowerment (Molar and Purohit, 1977; Nowak et al., 1982; Klopperg, 1991cited by Rickson, 1997). In another dimension, Brush and Stabinsky (1996) identified two definitions, (a) a popular or folk knowledge that can be contrasted to formal or specialized knowledge that defines scientific, professional, and intellectual elites in both western and non-western societies and (b) indigenous knowledge as systematic information that remains in the informal sector, usually unwritten and preserved in oral tradition rather than texts. In contrast, formal knowledge is situated in written texts, legal codes, and canonical knowledge, and decultured while indigenous knowledge is culture-specific.

Indigenous knowledge is associated with indigenous peoples around the world. 'Indigenous people' is a term that is best used in regions with a colonial history that has left a predominant national culture and autochthonous cultures that coexist and compete for limited resources, especially land (Brush and Stabinsky, 1996). Although different terms are employed, the common theme is that there are culturally distinct groups who have a minority status within modern nation states. The United Nations' working definition of indigenous people globally identified the existence of some populations in Africa, amongst them the nomadic herders the Fulani [Fulbe]-Bororo of West Africa who constitute 19.6 million of Africa's indigenous people (Wilmer, F. 1993:219) and the World Bank (1990 cited by Goering, 1993) placed the Fulbe-Bororo and the Tuaregs as four percent of the world's indigenous people. As noted in the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs report (1998-99) and indeed in all other documents, indigenous people all over the world find themselves in marginalized positions within the countries which they inhabit. In many ways they find themselves isolated. Although these obstacles are common to the people in Africa, additional blockages apply to women, caused by both their positions within the indigenous community as well as the position of women in the dominant society in general. For the two previous international indigenous women's conferences held in 1988 in Adelaide, Australia and in 1990 in Karasjohka, Norway, not a single African representative was listed. The invisibility of the indigenous women of Africa at these conferences points to the fact that the women do not have the possibility to formulate their interests and viewpoints at an international level.

However, the First African Indigenous Women's Conference was held 20-24th April, 1998 at Agadir, Morocco, a meeting in which 36 of the invited 43 women of indigenous peoples from North, South, East, and West Africa were able to participate. Even though the Fulbe pastoral nomadic women of West Africa are significant population of the African indigenous women, they were not represented at the international association. It was the first time in history that African indigenous women got together to share their knowledge, experience and strength. Discussions and exchanges of experience and strategies awakened them to their own situation as indigenous people.

Conference subjects recognized the role of the indigenous women as treasurers of the cultural and intellectual property of their people. Women have strong connections to their natural environment. They can survive and use the environment in a sustainable manner, and the environment has a big impact on other aspects of their culture including the spiritual and social structures of the society. These include knowledge regarding medicinal plants and other forms of healing; tool design; oral traditions including stories, poetry and songs; and other artistic forms of expression such as dance, dress and ornamentation (IWGA/FAIWAC report, 1998-1999). The FAIWAC report noted the potentials of the traditional knowledge of the African indigenous women in cultural and intellectual properties as they pass it from one generation to the other. They demonstrate this role in the education of their children, by fueling and saving the cultures of their people in the instruction of language, in spite of crumbling indigenous communities and amidst the threat of poverty and violence in the regions (FAIWAC, report 1998-99). The report recommended that the traditional forms of language and knowledge of the environment be saved and transmitted to future generations. Protecting and promoting traditional knowledge was further discussed at a round table on Survival Strategies of the Poor and Traditional Wisdom held in May 1987. In November of the same year, forty-two women from twenty-one countries who came together in Mount Holyoke College, a prestigious women's college in Massachussets, United States, for a three-day conference on "World wide Education of Women" discussed the purpose and nature of women's education. The agenda of action from all three conferences was that traditional knowledge be collected in book form and the redesigning of formal curricula include awareness of women, tradition, and cultural history as gleaned from oral sources. The Mount Holyoke meeting undertook a five-year program of curriculum development, research, and conferences on the nature of scholarship about women called "Reconstructing Women's Education from Grassroots Knowledge" which was to contribute to formal and informal educational development. The approach valued traditional systems of knowledge as repositories of information. It addressed the conflict between dominant modes of knowledge that marginalize women, their traditional knowledge and their contribution to life and labor and indigenous local knowledge systems which encode sustainable forms of livelihood, and its including traditional western systems of education in an attempt to alleviate the marginalization of women in the Third World (Singamma-Sreenivasan, 1993).

FAIWAC (1999) also recognized and recommended: the alleviation of violence against indigenous women; the reduction of the influence of the dominant culture which strengthens the patriarchal tendencies in the indigenous communities and undermines or erases the traditional, often matrifocal structures and cultural elements; and the elimination of the form of violence against women which is part of the indigenous culture as traditions control the sexual and economic activities of women. A less visible form of violence among the Fulbe nomads is early marriage, which makes them properties of their husbands, and morally silences women while portraying it as a feminist quality of good behavior, thus obstructing their ability to express their opinions and advocate for their rights.

In their various developmental policies many south countries emphasize traditions and culture as the basis of policies of the state and society in Africa. These are often accompanied by historically situated analyses which usually treat the state as pre-modern, patrimonial and "soft" (Scott, 1995). While the value of traditional knowledge is enormous and may have great potential for commercial application (Posey and Dutfield, 1996), this approach is frequently and generally adopted by African governments in order to promote traditions and cultural needs in their political ideologies (Magalula, 1990. Maravanyika, 1990; Pascharopoulos, 1990). It is often politicized in economic policies like self-reliance and sustainability and lauded in slogans like "back to roots". Indigenous women's issues have attracted global attention from governments and multilateral organizations, and therefore the states either directly or indirectly succumb to the rights of indigenous peoples to education as stated in the UN Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples (Article 15, cited by Gray, 1999):

> Indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the state. Indigenous peoples also have this right and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. Indigenous children living outside their communities have the right to be provided access to education in their own culture. States shall be [take] effective measures to provide appropriate resources for these purposes. (p. 366)

In educational policies, the approach to language policies is to consider their language a natural resource as practiced by nations like Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya, and Lesotho (Magalula, 1990; Maravanyika, 1990; Vinding, 1998). In Nigeria's educational policy, the use of language is reflected in the strategy of pedagogy for the nomadic Fulbe, which is based on the mother tongue, Fulfulde. The policy's Blue Print cited by Ndukwe (1998), stated that the medium of instruction for initial primary education should be the mother tongue, or the language of the immediate community which in practice may be the regional linguafranca. The implication here is that the language necessary for the nomadic education program should already be available to them as a resource.

Additionally, the policy recommended English be introduced at an unspecified later stage of learning. It is significant to note that Hausa being the linguafranca and dominant culture in the north is often used during face to face interaction in extension programs for women, and this might be attributed to the fact that the instructor might not be very knowledgeable in Fulfulde.

In practice, nomadic school-aged learners are taught in Fulfulde but taught Hausa and English as subjects of study (Ndukwe, 1998:108). The choice of Fulfulde fulfills the three criteria on measurement of language developed by Fraser (1968 cited by Ndukwe, 1998): (a) choice of standard dialect or variety; (b) graphization, which is concerned with orthography and the production of textbooks and other relevant literature and (c) modernization or the expansion of the vocabulary in line with modern life. In support of the language, the Fulfulde orthography published in 1983 by the National Language Center is accepted as the "standardized" version (Muhammad, 1991). Tahir (1991) insisted that "the need to adopt a standard Fulfulde orthography is today more real than before, considering the need to implement the Nomadic Education Policy of the Federal Ministry of Education" (p.127). To this effect text materials used are all in Fulfulde. Ezeomah (1998) observed that curricula were developed in:

> Eight subjects namely Mathematics, Primary Science, English, Islamic Religion, Social Studies, Health and Crafts. The completion of curricula development was followed in 1993 by book production. In this regard the Commission has published three books in Fulfulde. They are *Fuddan Jangirde Kafeeje Deftere Go'ore* (Book one) and *Deftere Fulfulde Arandeere nde Fukarrabe* (Book Two) and *Nde Mallunjoo* [teachers guide] have been developed. (p.5)

Although there has been a match between the language policy and its implementation in the Nomadic Education programs, and despite the accessibility of the current Fulfulde orthography as standard, within the orthography there appears to be more of the language of the Adamawa/Gombe [sedentary Fulbe]. By implication, the nomadic dialect is suppressed by the dominant one of the sedentary Fulbe even though the nomads are the recipients of the education. There is need for a review of the Fulfulde orthography considering the nomad's usability of the language in learning. Nomadic women's literacy classes are taught in Fulfulde and to some extent in Arabic [in the case of religious education as Muslims]. There is also a need to integrate commercial English into classroom learning for the women so that they can effectively relate with customers in the urban centers who may speak neither Hausa nor Fulfulde. Hence, there is the need for policy innovation on the role of language as a medium of instruction so as to assist the women and girls during marketing transactions.

Gender Critique of African Educational Policies

Development programs of governments in most Third World countries have been biased against the involvement of women and girls in social policies like education. These are based on the myopic misconception of the "low" contribution of women in any aspect of the society's social structure. Traditional misconceptions present a stereotypical and erroneous view of the past position and role of Nigerian women reducing them to welfare recipients rather than contributors to society. Onokerhoraye (1984) commented:

> Women like children, the disabled and aged . . . represent a special group of people in Nigeria as in many parts of the developing world. Personally, they require certain welfare services to enhance their contribution to contemporary Nigerian society. The need for special services for women in Nigeria arises from

> their traditional subordinate economic and social status compared with that of men. (p.156)

Because the domain of national planning on state policies in most if not all developing countries is dominated by men, most policies are not gender neutral but are gender biased. Issues of women are either ignored or intentionally omitted in most national developmental plans of Sub-Saharan countries Mohammadi (1984 cited by Stamp, 1990) commented,

> The decision making and policy formulation is dominated by the wishes of a small group in power, the process is influenced by powerful interest groups, more often than not, unaware or indifferent to consideration of women as participants in planning policies, and national strategies. Secondly, a realistic look at the levels of decision making and the sex composition of people who occupy them would show that women could hardly have much influence on policy and planning decisions as the majority occupy the lower echelon. Inequality of access to training, education, and also traditions has limited the number of trained women and those who will participate in training. (p. 55)

African feminists and friends of Africa, have described and theorized the precise ways in which women were and are oppressed in tribal communities and excluded in the paradigms of development (Stamp, 1990). Attention to women's exclusion in development finally gained recognition after the findings of Boserup (1970). Her study was based on the role of women in economic production and her findings revealed that women in Sub-Sahara Africa are not only involved in their orthodox roles of reproduction but that their domesticity has enabled them to become providers of labor and producers of non-cash crops in the agricultural (animal husbandry inclusive) sector. They participate in all forms of business activities even when it has minimal return. This is described as "motherism" in the African context, the readiness of women to increase their workload in the hope of benefiting their family (Maseko, 1994). Hence, the women themselves are committed to their productive activities; Regardless of whether their labor is payable or not to them, it is part of the norm to provide family support. Boserup (1970) challenged these perceptions and called for investment in women for better efficiency in the agricultural sector. According to her, this can only be achieved through education. She recognized the benefits and further opportunities of female education vis a vis increasing their choices and improving their earning power and participation in the economy.

The outcome of Boserup's findings became the basis of the development theory of Women In Development. The focus of WID advocates equity in the distribution of resources for easier accessibility and participation of women in education. The theory postulates the benefits accruing to women who obtain education, such as, a means of reducing poverty, improving health and nutrition of women and girls as well as decreasing their fertility rate (Boserup, 1970; Okojie, 1996; WHO 1992). Commitment to WID has been institutionalized by agencies in several ways, e.g. IDRC has established a WID unit, which shares information and advises on issues related to the integration of women in development as well as carrying out projects. Others include CIDA which has developed a WID policy framework (Stamp, 1990).

Indeed until recently most governments in Sub-Saharan Africa used the theoretical paradigm of WID in enforcing policies that affect women. WID policies have been extensively criticized because of their support of traditions which place women as subordinates, and their neglect of the issues of gender and class which exist in developing countries thereby reinforcing further the marginalization of women. In particular, African feminist scholars like Kathleen Staudt, Achola Pala Okeyo, Nici Nelson, Deborah Fahy Bryson, Edna Bay, Marjorie Mbilinyi and Shimwaayi Muntenmba criticized WID's policies for not challenging the existing patriarchy, which limits the participation of women in education. They argued that men were not sensitized to the benefit of girl's schooling and that schooling decision-making for women in Africa, and indeed most developing countries, lies in the hands of men which is a major barrier to their access (Kibera, 1996; Stamp, 1990). They advocate for a "feminist culture" which is characterized as challenging the idea of patriarchal control (where the head of the family defines everybody's needs), and hence call for a feminist culture that fosters liberty, self-determination, personal dignity and a higher quality of life (Chigudu, 1997). The criticisms of the 1980s also gave rise to other theories like Gender And Development. African feminists who support this theory believe that access and participation of women in education can only be promoted when there are improved gender relations in the family and the community. Such improved relations according to them will encourage dialogue between men and women for cooperative decision making on issues of family planning, participation in schooling for girls, and equity in the division of labor. This approach was a success between men and women in Kerala (Ghai, 1988).

Indeed, African feminist educationists in various discourses have raised concerns about the numerical data such as that of UNICEF (1994:18) which stated that, about 80 million girls aged 6 to 11 years, and as compared to 54 million boys do not go to primary school, about 60 percent of the 130 million children who are not enrolled in schools are girls. In another report, EFA (1994:5) mentioned that of the 52 African countries, only 13 have achieved 80 percent net enrollment for both boys and girls at the primary level. In Nigeria, the female literacy rate in 1990 was estimated at about 39.5 percent which when compared with 62.3 percent for males is relatively low. This means that 26.23 million of the estimated 43.9 million women in Nigeria are illiterate (Situation And Policy Analysis report SAPA 1993:123). Specifically, nomadic Fulbe statistical data from the Nomadic Education News (1997) tabulated enrollment disparity between females and males. In the 34 states including the federal capital territory Abuja, in 1025 nomadic schools with a population of 116,204 pupils there were 67, 790 males and 48, 414 females. Nunez and Otila (1994) observed that 66 percent of girls who enroll in first grade drop out of school before they complete their third grade and that this is more acute in the rural areas. If no sustained efforts are made to reach rural women and girls, their future in all likelihood will remain plagued by poverty (Fourth World Conference on Women Report, 1995).

Feminist critics of social policies on education in Africa and indeed the Third World identified many impediments to female education which are grounded in the cultures and traditions of the people, and were supported by ancient colonial policies even after independence. Sacks (1982 cited Ortner, 1974 cited by Stamp 1990) argues that

> The essence of culture . . . as it pertains to women, is to select those themes and attributes that reinforce female subordination and to project them as the totality of femaleness and maleness. And so the concept of culture becomes the science of stereotyping; culture becomes the enemy of women . . . (p. 112).

Disparity in access to education continues to favor males, while corresponding high illiteracy rates persist amongst females. Major causes identified include poverty, distance to schools, school factors (e.g. class interaction), religion, early marriage, domestic sex role and needs, lack of awareness, circumcision, and effects of war in war torn zones especially in Africa. However, despite similarities of causes there exist some disparities because of the differences in culture and geography among countries. The basic socio-cultural barriers are discussed in turn.

Early marriage. SAPA (1993) reported that many household heads and community leaders have identified early marriage based on religious bias as a discriminatory cultural practice against girls' access to western education. As in most pastoral societies, it is cultural for them to marry and procreate within their own ethnic communities especially amongst the Fulbe of West Africa, the Ariel and the Massai of Kenya and Tanzania of East Africa amongst other pastoral groups. As indigenous populations of Africa, early marriage constitutes the most critical constraint on the education of girls. As observed in nomadic African tribes by Akaranga (1981) and Ezeomah (1987, girls are married off as early as 9 to13 years, and those attending school are withdrawn from schools to receive training at home in domestic roles to prepare them for marriage. Amongst the Fulbe nomads of Nigeria, Ezeomah (1983) noted

> Oral interviews revealed that some nomadic Fulbe parents consider female attendance at school as a hindrance to marriage and domestic duties. There is the fear amongst some parents that educated girls will not marry herdsmen. Obviously, the marriage of 11-16 years will definitely interfere with their education especially at the post-primary level. (p. 20)

Traditionally, nomads approve and promote early marriage as part of their traditions. It is seen as a means of protecting the female gender from sexual imprudence as well as promoting social relations between families and clans, furthermore it is considered a means of bringing honor to the girl's parents. de St. Croix (1972) described the practice of early arranged cousin-marriages of the nomads as *koggal,* which is the marriage between the son and daughter of two brothers or half brothers. It is considered to be an ideal marriage because it assists in the establishing of families and herds. Parents who make such marital arrangements proudly say, as paraphrased by Stenning (1959), "If you are betrothed to your cross cousin or your patrilateral parallel cousin, does not this retain pride, since they are more closely related and the lineage group has not scattered" (p.84). Girls are betrothed to their husbands at a very early age and by the time they are of school age between ages 11 to 14 years when they are considered ready for matrimony, they are withdrawn from school to fulfill the marriage contract (Akaranga, 1995; Kibera, 1995; Tahir, 1991). The withdrawal of these girls from school means they leave school before the level of permanent literacy is attained (Ezeomah, 1987).

Schooling was and is still seen, as an attempt to reduce ethnic numerical strength through the long period or years of schooling for girls. Male parents hold the view that the period of study is also the prime age for girls' reproductive period. In support of early marriage, nomadic parents believe that girls who marry early have easier and more conducive pregnancies and childbirth (Kisekka, 1981; Okojie, 1991). In her studies of Hausa-Fulani women of Northern Nigeria, Kissekka (1981) commented that the

> Compliance of girls to marry according to parental desires removes the natural fears of childbirth, and especially at very young ages of thirteen to nineteen, it is aggravated by the seemingly unnatural cultural prescription for concealment and shame of pregnancy and exhortation to bear labor pains in dignified silence. These practices, in conjunction with early marriage and early teenage births, contribute to one of the most commonly reported gynecological problems amongst Hausa -Fulani women. (p.43)

This erroneous misconception is evident in medical reports of teaching hospitals and state controlled hospital departments of gynecology and obstetrics in northern states of Nigeria. Early marriage as related to childbirth results in higher incidents of VVF (Vesico Vaginal Fistula) and *Gishiri* caused by mismanagement of delivery procedures by local birth attendants. There has been a high record of nomadic Fulbe girls with this problem as recorded in various research findings of the departments of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria as well as reported by UNICEF, Nigeria (Okojie, 1991) and in leading public hospitals like the Murtala Mohammed Hospital popularly called *Assibiti* in Kano city (Mati, 1984).

Religion. This is another social practice that controls participation and access of women and girls' schooling, especially in the Muslim rural population in Africa. The Islamic concept of seclusion, *purdah or kulleh,* is a hindrance to female access and participation to education especially in northern Nigeria. The word *purdah* which literally means a curtain or screen is symbolically practiced by Muslim women by the use of the veil to conceal the identity of women and it is also used for total physical seclusion or confinement of women within the household (Mernissi, 1996 and Varsha, 1995). Women and girls must be granted permission by the male heads of households before leaving for activities like school. Hence, there is rigid control of women and girls' access and continuity of learning. Women comply with this religious principle for fear of curses and divine sanctions; as well, respect of their spouses compels them to compliance. Maududi (1995) commented that the tradition by Kashf-al-Ghamma was that "when a woman steps out of her house against the will of her husband, she is cursed by every angel in the heavens and by everything other than men and *jihnn* by which she passes, till she returns". . Men as heads of households assert their authority on women through purdah, thereby negating women's participation in public activities like education. Feminist scholars' attitude towards men's authority on women as a means of oppression is summed up by Smith (1991) that "men are invested with authority as individuals not because they have special competencies, but because as men they appear as representative of the power and authority of the institutionalized structures which govern the society" (p.245). Some African feminist Muslim women have questioned that if Allah has created men and women physically and biologically different and stated that they are spiritually and intellectually equal, how can "one sex deliberate and strive to regulate the problem, interest and needs of the other sex-and in its absence" (Mernissi, 1993:4). In other words how can men who are physically, biologically and emotionally different from women with different needs and problems take decisions on behalf of women. Abubakar (1998) added that this attitude negates the principle of Islam as regards relation of the sexes, that men and women are equal but different. In addition from the observed three guiding principle of Islam, Doi (1977) exhorted that "woman should be afforded all such opportunities as may enable her to develop her natural abilities to the maximum within the social framework, so that she may play her role effectively in the development of civilization"". (p. 150). Assie-Lumumba (1998) noted that "throughout the centuries the interpretation of the Quran by some male leaders in search of a religious (unchangeable) base to legitimize their power gave more importance to men. The family code, the general code of conduct, and liberty of movement were set to favor the male". (p.534). Movement of women could be restricted and controlled by the menfolk as a means of protecting the woman from excess exposure, as well as allowing the men exert their authority over the woman.

The implication of this for education is that, when a husband in the case of married girl-child or even experienced woman does not grant permission to the spouse to attend school or literacy classes that order must be respected. With such practice it is evident that female access to education is a household decision not the independent decision of the affected women and girls. This hinders enrollment of females into western education amongst the Fulbe nomads. Bugaje (1997) commented that "human society is ever developing and circumstances are ever changing. By categorically excluding women from education, the Muslim community is either denied whatever talent Allah may have placed in certain women or bogged down to only what the men can offer."(p.7).

Cultural myths and beliefs. These are parts of African traditions highly upheld as life principles, and some serve as mores of general social life. They are also gender created by men to be observed by women in the society. As in any patriarchal society, many myths have traditionally been upheld to ensure that women as members of the social group are visibly labeled and controlled even in the access and participation of informal and formal educational programs. Some myths hold that females who in most tribes in Africa are socialized differently may become immoral through unchecked social integration with the opposite peer group of learners especially in co-educational schools. Historically, Okeke (1989) cited the report of D.C. Burns, a colonial administrator, on prevalent views on the education of women in Nigeria in his 1947 memorandum on educational policy:

> It is claimed that schooling makes girls discontented and immoral, that girls who have been to school are less willing to undertake heavy labor in fields, that there

> are no women teachers in schools; and where customs of bride wealth are strong, parents commonly prefer marriage rather than schooling for their daughters. (p.50)

In particular, rural male parents hold the view that integrating with other ethnic groups through schooling may lead to change of cultural behaviors required of females. It is customary in all indigenous African populations to marry within their ethnic circles; most male parents fear that through the process of schooling girls will marry non nomadic tribe boys or men which may reduce their population and numerical strength as a people. In a survey on nomadic ethnic Fulbe in Plateau state Nigeria, heads of households [men] related their fears of female education, complaining that "girls will not marry herdsmen if they go to school, and some will end up marrying non Fulbe" (Ezeomah, 1991: 23).

In addition to this, the myth of Fulbe origin of *Kumen and Foforundu* distinguished the role of men as superiors in knowledge and skills over women who are to be confined to domestic functions (Ezeomah, 1991). The mystic narrative duly specified the right of men not women to knowledge and by virtue of their status as wives they can only acquire knowledge from their spouses. This myth has placed the institution of marriage as paramount for nomadic women to acquire knowledge.

In addition, other concerns about women's education in Africa expressed by men were described by Alele-Williams, (1987 cited by Okeke 1989): "educated women do not make good (submissive) wives; educated women are morally corrupt or promiscuous; educated women are barren; educated women find it very difficult to get husbands" (p.50). Additionally, education is seen negatively by rural parents as being accompanied with greater female autonomy and independence instead of being submissive and dependent on the males (Assie-Lummumba, 1998; Rose & Tembon, 1998;Trevor, 1975). These myths dissuade parents from sending their daughters to schools. Only parents who defy societal pressure manage to send their daughters to schools. Most parents had and still have a permanent and genuine fear of the moral danger that would ensue from letting the girls out of their parent's sight especially when the girls attend coeducational schools.

Nayak (1980) observed that before girls' education can be achieved, parents' fear that "education may make young women irresponsible or develop a tendency to dominate over men or their inlaws will have to be dispelled" (p.46).

Class perception of females. The class distinction in most pastoral people places women in the lower level as subordinates. In most Muslim pastoral communities, like that of the Fulbe, unlike other ethnic tribes in Nigeria, women are classified at the lower strata of the social structure. They are religiously considered "the weaker ones," who must be taken care of by the males as is indicated in the Quran, Chapter 4: 34, cited by Abubakar (1998) " Men are the protectors and maintainers of women because Allah has given the one more strength than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah will have them guard." (p.1) This religious verse and others are doctrines highly observed by the nomadic Fulbe men as Muslims in placing the women under their control, which further perpetuates patriarchy in a typical Fulbe nomadic setting.

Distance to schools. The characteristics of rural education for girls in Third World countries have been described as high drop out, absenteeism, and insufficient attendance (Brown, 1997; Grant, 1992; Kibera, 1995; Chlebowska, 1990). Chlebowska (1990) established that these characteristics were related to "distance of schools, [and] an expense to parents who often abandon the idea of exposing their daughters to such insecure distance" (p.73). In a study of Algerian schools, Grant (1992) noted that distance is another important deciding factor to girls' schooling. He noted that a distant school places girls' safety at risk and also keeps them away from domestic chores for longer periods of time, often not approved by parents.

Variables such as scarcity of teachers, physical structures, environmental changes and availability of gas to facilitate teachers' transportation to their schools influence the merger and transfer of learners which may be quite a distance from their homes. These circumstances often bring about changes and adjustments. The effect of this is that it creates distance for the learners and cost of travel for the parents. Most importantly, parents view such distance as risky for their daughters, which may discourage their participation in schooling, thereby increasing the dropout rate of girls as compared to boys.

In addition, the ecological problems leading to isolating of grazing encampments due to floods and erosion of roads decrease mobility as well as affect the accessibility of the women and girls to permanent educational infrastructures. Major ecological issues like drought and cattle diseases like "rinderpest" forces them to further migrate in an effort to seek new grounds. There is no doubt that the movement creates additional distance to school infrastructures and seriously affects the education of [women and girl] nomads in general (Ezewu and Tahir, 1998). It has been further observed that the continuing economic crisis in developing countries hinders progress in gender equity because parents faced with costly choices tend to keep daughters at home (EFA report, 1994).

School related factors. These are primary contributors to girls' inaccessibility to education. Amongst the Fulbe, as Muslims, the socialization process of girls requires no or limited interaction with the opposite sex outside their family members. Hence, girls' increased chances of going to schooling may indirectly depend upon the availability of separate school facilities for girls and the presence of female teachers (Brenner, 1998; Grant, 1995; Lee and Lockheed, 1998). Furthermore, compared to coeducational schools, Lockheed and Klein (1985 cited in Lee and Lockheed, 1998) commented that " single sex education has been advanced as an interim strategy to sensitize women to take their rightful places from a coeducational world" (p.203). Many Muslim nomadic parents prefer their daughters attend a single sex school. However as shown in various studies in Nigeria and Kenya, fewer girls are likely to attend such schools in developing countries because of the cost involved, and girls who attend single sex schools come from more advantaged homes with educated parents who are members of the emergent professional classes (Muckenhirn, 1966, cited in Lee and Lockheed, 1998:206).

Apparently, where single sex schools are not available for the nomadic girls, their parents will be left with the option of whether to educate their daughters or not. Amongst the ardent Muslims of the Fulbe nomads whose beliefs are grounded in the separation of females in school, this may mean that they will opt out of educating their daughters.

Cost-benefit impact of schooling. In surveys conducted on parents in most African societies, (Kibera, 1995; Okeke, 1989; Yunusa 1994) many parents see education as having a high economic pay off. They expect that at the end of schooling children are to assist the family in terms of needs as well as provide a social support for the aging parents, which the boys often do. Hence, the education of girls to most parents is a waste, because girls end up marrying, raising children and taking care of their own families and their husband's relations thereby neglecting their parents who have invested so much on their education. Yunusa (1994) added, "it is often said that since a daughter is useful to her family only when young, they should be retained at home in domestic chores, scarce resources and other cultural influences" (p.23). There is a similar situation in other pastoral tribes. Bugeke (1995) noted that very little pressure is exerted on nomadic female education in Tanzania because there are negative attitudes towards women's schooling and also because of the clear division of labor in those communities. In addition to this, Ezeomah (1991 cited by Tahir, 1991) reiterated that

> Women are members of the nomadic groups and are over burdened. The distribution of labor is heavily against them. In most of the intensive labor areas girls are involved as they are trained to play the same role as their mothers. Women and girls are the most resourceful members of their family. (p.20)

For the Fulbe women in traditional camps, their economic system gives them visibility in the market place, and the roles of the nomadic women have a direct effect on their participation in education and training. The labor-intensive demands of a livestock economy compete with the demand for formal education. This makes the participation of women and girls in education difficult. Studies conducted by Ezeomah (1987) in Ningi and Guri local government areas of Plateau state in Nigeria indicated that girls are withdrawn from nomadic schools about the age of ten years to receive training at home in domestic roles to prepare them for marriage.

Furthermore preference for boys' education with expectation of its economic gains is often considered as an investment by many African families. Kibera (1995) commented that

> The education of males is often seen as an investment because they remain at home on completion of their education and contribute to the family welfare through participation in the labor force, while girls end up marrying and contributing to their new families. Consequently, members of girls' biological families regard female education as liability. (p. 61)

Due to this and many other costs parents may control their input of meager resources in educating girls. They believe that boys remain in the families and will continue with the family name in whatever area of success they achieve which is an important family honor in the society.

Domestic role expectations of women and girls. Cultural subordination of girls in Africa is grounded in their expected domestic roles which occupy approximately 80-90% of their day. Girls' participation in schooling faces many barriers, many of them situated in the context of the household. Girls are expected to assist mothers with domestic responsibilities. Domestic chores like fetching water and firewood, taking care of their siblings, and assisting in cooking are considered significant barriers to their participation and continuity in schooling (Chebowska, 1990; Csapo, 1976; Stromquist, 1998). Although cultural factors are often used as justification for the denial of educational access to girls, such arrangements tend to neglect the root of the problem, the devaluation of females and their contributions.

These barriers are gender blind to the benefits of female education. They are challenged by groups like FAWE who call for parents and government agencies to re-examine their educational policies. Most educational policies formulated in Africa in the past made no reference to the gender factor. This meant that until recently educational policies did not cater for the distinct needs or recognize the specific problems of women and girls (FAWE/UNESCO, 1998). From the analysis of the implementation of programs by the Nomadic Commission it is clear that the issue of gender is highlighted.

Hunt (1996) identified gender analysis as "the process of considering the impact of a development project or program on women and men, and on the social and economic relationship between them" (p.87). Marshall (1999) commented that policies that are gender neutral are a result of ignoring the accumulation of males' advantages in cultural practices and in activities on educational issues like management. She pointed out that policy analysts must consider whether the policy will empower and democratize, as well as dispense goods to the 'have nots' in addressing traditional questions such as policy efficiency. Gender awareness is pertinent for consideration because it helps to promote the realization that there is a problem concerning gender in a particular community or situation (GCID/GENEYS framework cited by FAWE/UNESCO, 1998). In addition to their conclusion that gender analysis reveals how gender roles and relationships affect development goals and developmental strategies, the authors also explained that variable such as age, race, ethnicity, and religion or class cannot be studied in isolation from other socio-economic factors. Gender analysis is not a specific method as much as a type of lens focusing on particular aspects of cultural reality. It dwells more on gender roles and relationship which constitute a very basic and important dimension of human and social organization (FAWE, 1998). The purpose of official policies is to ensure good order and fairness to all. It is ironic that these policies often prevent females from being treated fairly so that the policy instead of equalizing opportunities rather reinforces existing social inequalities (FAWE, 1998). Additionally, UNESCO/FAWE (1998:16) concluded that educational systems should reflect the fundamental values of the society, hence, gender analysis serves as a tool for educationists, educational planners and policy makers in their quest for equity in the area of education for development. Other advantages of this analysis are that policy makers become aware of the relevance of gender-based segregation and thereby develop the habit of further research inquiry rather than awaiting policy answers. In addition, they can use research like this study for the purpose of clarification, as well as to develop readiness to look beyond the formal education system in formulating educational policies that concern women and girls.

A Generic Gender Based Educational Policy Implementation Model

To operate effectively the existing Nomadic Education Policy needs to be sensitive to the in-depth issues that concern the education of women and girls, thus there is the need for a policy dynamics of either innovation, extension or policy expansion (Hogwood and Guy, 1983). A conceptual model that is gender sensitive to women and girls was proposed in Figure 2. The top half of the model refers to the generic questions while the bottom half includes questions specific to the Nomadic Education Policy. The policy implementation model, arranged in a linear form, involved three aspects: *Initiatives* which reflect the direction of the study, *Outcomes* which measured the extent of the achievement of the initiatives in relation to empowerment and literacy. *Actors* who are involved in either aspects of the decision making and or/possible activities surrounding the implementation and this model examined Initiatives in three areas: curriculum reform, pedagogy and resources/environment. In curriculum reform, it seeks general answers to questions such as (a) Does the curriculum meet the socio-economic needs of women and girls? (b) Does learning content for women include real life experiences? (c) Does it include indigenous knowledge content familiar to women and girls? Specific curriculum questions related to the implementation of the model to the Nomadic Education Policy are (a) Has the curriculum supported the needs of women in modern dairy management? (b) To what extent has the curriculum content accommodated their real life experiences such as cultural values and needs of "pulaaku"?

(c) Does the curriculum include indigenous cognitive and affective knowledge practiced by the Fulbe women? The second area of the Initiatives section examined the pedagogy. In terms of a feminist pedagogy orientation general questions include: (a) Are teachers using compatible cultural ways of organizing and instructing learning in the classroom? (b) Do pedagogies used enhance cultural continuity of the women? (c) Do the pedagogies used promote social relations like individual autonomy and group cohesion? (d) How compatible and acceptable is the language of instruction to the women and girls? The application of these questions to the Nomadic Education Policy addresses such specifics as: (a) Do teachers use cultural methods of teaching such as inviting resource persons like elder women, and use resource places in the community for cultural continuity? (b) Are group methods used for women to promote group cohesion? (c) What is the benefit of Fulfulde, the language of instruction to their marketing operations? (d) Do teachers involve Fulbe girls in native methods of role play, simulation and games taught, known, and used from home? (e) How suitable are the style of instruction by radio education and how compatible to the learning experiences of Fulbe women and girls? (f) To what extent do the radio education listening groups foster social relations of Fulbe women and girls?

The third area of the Initiatives part of the model involves Resources and Environment questions: (a) Is the time specified for lessons compatible with the busy lives of women and girls? (b) Are indigenous and readily available resources used for women and girls? (c) Does the classroom environment accommodate learning mothers and their babies? (d) Are local resources used for instructional purposes? (e) Are examples in the texts gender suitable? (f) Are books and resources available in the local language? (g) Are there female teachers as role models?

In applying these questions to the NPE structure, the following questions are likely: (a) Is the timetable for literacy classes designed for Fulbe women compatible with their busy marketing schedule? (b) Do the resources used for women literacy classes allow creativity and innovation for women and girls? (c) What are the facilities provided by the commission to Fulbe nursing women during instruction? (d) Do teachers make use of local resources familiar to women and girls during instruction? (e) Do Fulfulde text materials contain learning activities and pictorials which reflect the activities of women and girls? (f) Are there Fulbe women who can act as role models as members of the teaching staff and project officers?

Under Actors, the general model seeks responses to questions such as: (a) Who is involved? (b) What is the extent of government control? (c) How involved are the female grassroot NGOs in the implementation of programs? The application of the above questions to NPE implementation raises questions such as (a) To what extent are the Fulbe women involved in planning and implementation of learning programs? (b) To what extent do the government controlled NGOs represent the Fulbe women and girls in decision-making and program planning? (c) How does the commission involve the grassroot NGOs of Fulbe women in the implementation of programs?

The Outcomes section of the model seeks to verify the degree to which the policy achieves its intended objectives by questioning the following: (a) What are the effects of social empowerment on gender relations in the family and community? (b) Has economic empowerment improved women's purchasing and financial power? (c) Has literacy and numeracy improved social relations of women and girls as individuals and groups? In applying to the NPE it seeks answers to the following questions: (a) Does social empowerment improve gender relations regarding issues on family decision making, on schooling, family division of labor, and issues on health and reproduction between Fulbe women and men? (b) Has their obtained literacy assisted Fulbe women in improving their marketing strategy and providing greater exposure to financial resources in assisting their informal economy? (c) Has the literacy assisted the women in forming cooperative associations to further social relations amongst them?

The issue of empowerment is the ultimate objective of the Nomadic Education Policy. The process of empowerment in an educational dimension is explained further in the didactic approach. Stromquist (1994) commented that this approach is a "mode of learning close to people's everyday experiences and builds on the intellectual, emotional and cultural resources the students bring to the educational situation" (p. 268). The proposed model projects that empowerment can be felt momentarily or can be transformative when a permanent redistribution of social power to powerless groups is connected. Empowerment is thus, similar to development, a normative concept, as it is guided by values and views about how the social transformation process should take place (Hausmann, 1998; Monkman, 1998 Stromquist, 1994).

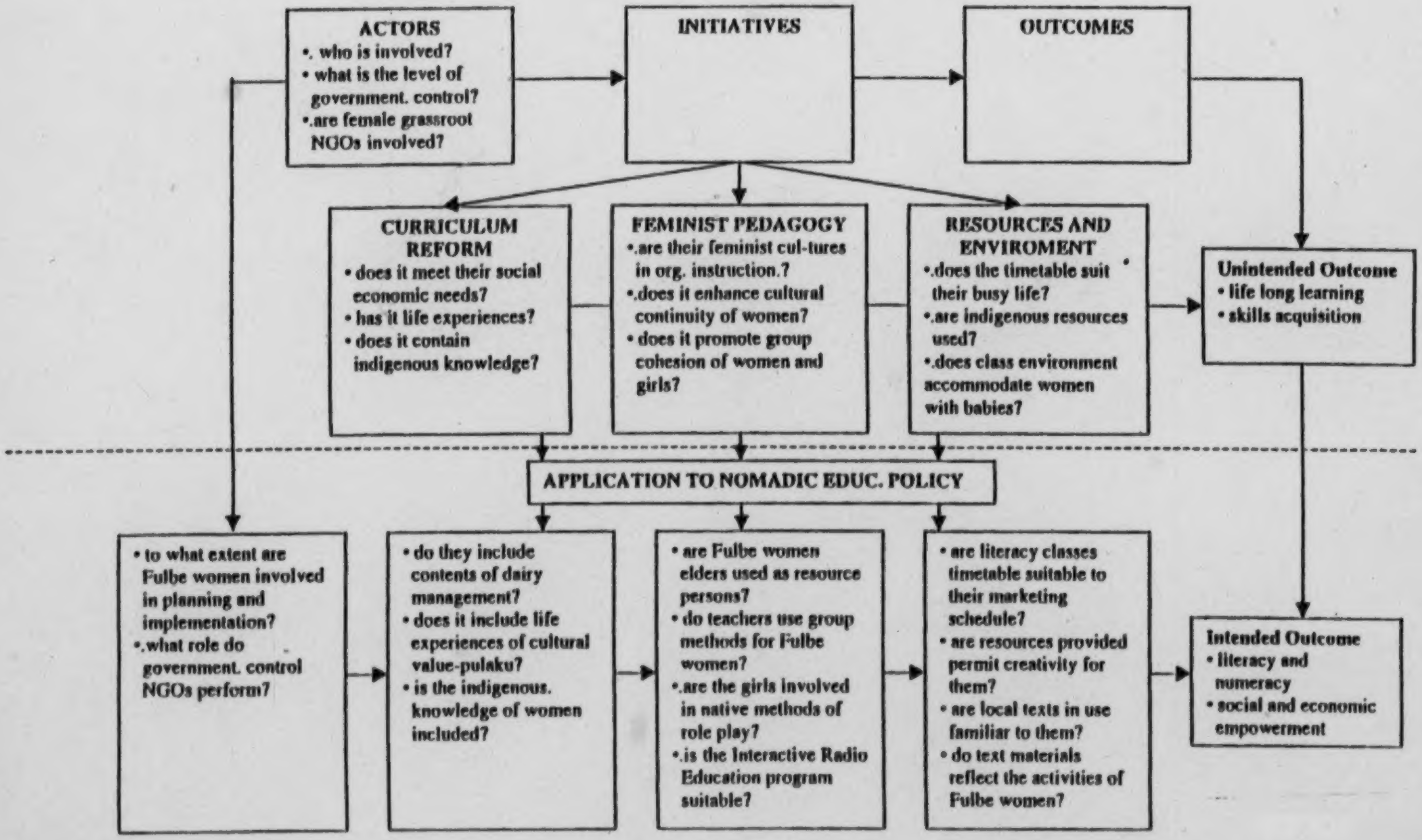
It is generally believed that empowerment can be obtained through the transmission of knowledge and skills. Accordingly, Land and Gilbert (1994:1982:24 cited by Hausman, 1998) modified their theories on education for empowerment along Freire's concept of "critical consciousness"; they expressed the view that education facilitates the participants' life circumstances and implies action of the learners as subjects and actors of their own lives.

Leading feminist writers on the role of education for empowerment (Hausman, 1998; Marshal, 1999; Monkman, 1998; Stromquist, 1998) advocate the role of literacy for women. They see literacy as fostering the ability to engage in meaningful discourse in various settings for various purposes including the use of language both written and oral as a means of exploring one's world and engaging in efforts to transform one's self and one's environment. Monkman (1998) ascertained that "literacy is a means of transformation and empowerment" (p. 500). Literacy involves understanding one's self within the socio-economic and political context and engaging in action to promote change (Malicky, 1999). In addition, Freire (1970) believe that the goal of literacy is not adapting people to fit into the society, but rather helping people become aware of inequalities and contradictions in income and social structures to bring about change. Scholars in women's nonformal education (Hausman, 1998; Monkman, 1998; Stromquist, 1998) reiterated the need for active listening of all involved through participatory dialogues and critical problem solving of issues concerning the socio-economic, political, cultural and historical context of the participants' everyday lives. The model also envisages implementation strategies to achieve empowerment for the women and girls, this being one of the intended outcomes of the nomadic policy for their participation in the literacy program (The NEP BluePrint, 1989; Action Plan 1996-2000). The aim, their empowerment as an educationally marginalized group, is to unite them and redefine their goals that they may manifest themselves as a group, and to speak out and gain power to meet their basic needs (Hauseman, 1998). Empowerment is what all organizations promote and is an expression of the changing view of development theories and their new focus on poorer and powerless groups (Hausman, 1998; Stromquist, 1998).

The research questions are connected to the generic and the applied NPE model on the three structures of Initiatives, Actors, and Outcomes. The application of the generic model on gender issues to the Nomadic Education Policy on implementation outlined in Figure 4 will serve as framework for the data analysis in the Gender Educational Policy Model (FAWE, 1998).

Figure 4

Gender Based Generic Educational Policy Model


ACTORS
•. who is involved?
• what is the level of government. control?
•.are female grassroot NGOs involved?
INITIATIVES
OUTCOMES
CURRICULUM REFORM
• does it meet their social economic needs?
• has it life experiences?
• does it contain indigenous knowledge?
FEMINIST PEDAGOGY
•.are their feminist cul-tures in org. instruction.?
•.does it enhance cultural continuity of women?
• does it promote group cohesion of women and girls?
RESOURCES AND ENVIROMENT
•.does the timetable suit their busy life?
•.are indigenous resources used?
•.does class environment accommodate women with babies?
Unintended Outcome
• life long learning
• skills acquisition
APPLICATION TO NOMADIC EDUC. POLICY
• to what extent are Fulbe women involved in planning and implementation?
•.what role do government. control NGOs perform?
• do they include contents of dairy management?
• does it include life experiences of cultural value-pulaku?
• is the indigenous. knowledge of women included?
• are Fulbe women elders used as resource persons?
• do teachers use group methods for Fulbe women?
•.are the girls involved in native methods of role play?
•.is the Interactive Radio Education program suitable?
• are literacy classes timetable suitable to their marketing schedule?
• are resources provided permit creativity for them?
• are local texts in use familiar to them?
• do text materials reflect the activities of Fulbe women?
Intended Outcome
• literacy and numeracy
• social and economic empowerment

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHOD

The essence of a research method is to seek information about the phenomenon being investigated. While policy research methods often include both qualitative and quantitative approaches, social research on policy studies has tended to emphasize the maximization of information while minimizing the collecting of data through the extensive use of base line data from organizations, communities, and governments (Kurt & Hamilton, 1978). Such strategies ignore the experiences of the clients of the policy while privileging the policy makers' orientation. This study based on qualitative data, pays particular attention to the voices of the clients, the Fulbe women and girls, listening to them "in their own terms", and attempting to understand their lives with regard to educational concerns as advocated by many feminist researchers (Finch, 1984; Gillian, 1982; Graham, 1983; and Oakley, 1981 cited in Ribbens and Edwards, 1998).

Orientation of the Study

This study is based on an orientation to policy that recognizes the gap between the policy intention and the actual implementation outcomes. Marshall (1999) commented that most of the policies enacted have assumed a position of gender neutrality not recognizing that actual power accumulates to the advantage of males. Hence this study uses a gender analysis to explore this gap. Based on the feminist and participatory orientation of the study, the postulated gender analysis model uses descriptions of issues and concerns related to the experiences of education from women and girls, the heads of households and religious leaders, the teachers and curriculum developers as well as from policy makers and bureaucrats about their vision and experiences of the policy in order to provide a critique and response concerning the adequacy of the policy and to provide recommendations for change. As a result of the patriarchy operating at a structural level which creates barriers to the participants' education, this study focuses on the participants' understandings the social and cultural contexts of events surrounding the implementation of the Nomadic Education Policy and seeks to promote the identity of these women and girls outside family care and domestic chores.

The background to this choice of a feminist orientation is guided by personal experiences. I come from a similar background to that of the nomadic women where patriarchy is the norm and its cultural mores serve as the yardstick for socialization of persons in the society. Furthermore, my experiences of informal interaction with the Fulbe women and girls in social places, as well as a research assistant on projects and studies that involved the participants on issues of health, food and nutrition conscientized me and encouraged me to undertake the inquiry. This approach according to Rheinharz (1991) serves as a starting point, the material from which the researcher develops questions, and the source of people to study as well as the source of the puzzling experience or the "need to know".

This approach to inquiry is considered by feminist researchers to be an asset, as well as a necessity or a source of legitimacy which serves both subjectivity and objectivity concurrently (Rheinharz, 1992). The concept of patriarchy as an existing norm of the participants' culture and rooted in their religious practices [as earlier discussed in chapter 2] is widely visible as observed by female writers on Fulbe studies (Bruijin, 1996; Dupire, 1963; 1972; Vereecke, 1991).

The study orientation further considered the various feminist developmental theories with special focus on education. As historically practiced, most Third World countries developmental policies initially were guided by the WID paradigm in the early 1970s. It outlines how women and girls lack access and participation to formal education, to credit and commerce, and in agricultural expansion (e.g., animal husbandry as in the case of the Fulbe women and girls). In her findings Boserup (1970) reiterated that women are largely confined to household production and the informal economy as food producers whose contributions are either invisible or undervalued. It is important to note that the theory realizes that the marginalization of women and girls is embedded in the structures, which push the norms to the disadvantage of women. Even though the theory has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on the productive role of women (economic benefits and productive as well as reproductive zones), WID recommends the need to change class structures to enable everyone in the society to find their levels or ways (i.e., women's oppression on issues of access to education among others).

Having seen the weaknesses of WID and WAD as earlier discussed, which were briefly adopted by developing countries including Nigeria, the feminist theory adopted in this study is the Gender And Development theory, popularly referred to as an empowerment approach. Importantly, the GAD theory emerged from feminist writing and movements of women from the south as a women's approach to development. It traces the roots of subordination to race, class, colonial history and the position of southern countries within the international economic order (Brisibe, 20001). The theory's paradigm, observed by Mosse (1998), was initially perceived with suspicion by most Third World countries because it proposes to change the position of south women by seeking the empowerment of women through a bottom up rather than top down approach. Since the Fulbe women by hierarchy of their social structure are on the bottom, the GAD theory is most suitable for the study. The theoretical approaches of the theory based on consciousness raising and popular education as necessary conditions for lasting social change and improving the life's of women and girls (Mosser, 1998) provide a context for the study.

Within existing structures and traditions of Fulbe society, women and girls are overshadowed with domestic responsibilities, which provide them limited opportunity to achieve literacy and access schooling. Hence, the study seeks to create social change through identifying and employing a gender sensitive educational policy model to develop specific policy recommendations. These should enable women and girls who participate in the literacy and other educational programs to take their rightful places as citizens. Furthermore, the study attempts to provide a clear rationale for the need to strengthen gender relations between participants and their household heads and policy makers (who are mostly men) on the importance of literacy and schooling for women and girls.

Most feminist researchers rely on a multiplicity of research methods often from several disciplines (Rheinharz, 1991). In support of this inter-disciplinary approach, feminist anthropologist Marilyn Strathern (cited by Rheinharz, 1992) stated that

> Much feminist discourse is constructed in a plural way. Arguments are juxtaposed, many voices solicited, in a way that feminists speak about their own scholarship. There are no central texts, no definitive techniques; the deliberate transdisciplinary enterprise plays with context. Perspectives from different disciplines are held to illuminate one another. (p.246)

Through this strategy, findings build on each other in order to obtain increasingly accurate, imaginative, and useful answers to the research problems. Hence, the researcher of this study like any feminist researcher, needs to be self-reflexive, collaborative, and attuned to process and social change for women and girls rather than only of women and girls.

Research Design

In order to respond to the research direction, I chose an ethnographic orientation to data collection because it accommodates all the basics of naturalistic study. Scholars of qualitative studies (Burgess, 1985; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Ellen, 1984; Glenne and Peshkin, 1996; Nueman, 2000; Silverman, 1998; Spradley, 1979; Spindler, 1970) have placed the ethnographic orientation within the realm of qualitative research. Spradley and McCurdy (1975 cited by Maynard, 1994) defined ethnography, as the task of describing a particular culture or segment of a culture, based on information obtained from observation, extensive interviewing and consideration of artifacts of the culture being studied.

The orientation of this study was guided by an earlier pilot study conducted with some selected rural grazing zones of the Fulbe communities. Furthermore, my cultural familiarity with the participants is another added reason for the choice of the approach. Lofland (1996 cited by Berg, 1998) commented that "ethnographic research utilizes data based on deep familiarity with a social setting or situation that is gained through personal participation or an approximation of it" (p.120). Additionally, my familiarity with the cultural setting of the participants' enabled me to merge myself into the culture being studied (Ellen, 1987 cited by Berg, 1998).

The choice of orientation is supported by merits associated with the approach. Spradley (1979) and Glesne and Peshkin (1992) reiterate that the method entails far more than easily described and adopted data gathering techniques. It allows the researcher to visit the participants without obstructing their activities. Additionally, it requires that the researcher spends more time to know the people better and building trust and confidence which allow richer feedback to both the researcher and the participants. It gives an enriched understanding of the people being studied, as well as providing for checks and verification of differences of opinions (Atkinson and Hammerseley, 1998; Berg, 1998; Bodgan and Biklen, 1998; Maykut and Morehouse, 1996; Okebola, 1998 and Spradley, 1979).

In addition, the choice of a research method considered the nature of the participants, their literacy level, ability to respond and communicate with the researcher and their gender roles in the environment. Other factors considered include advantages with regards to flexibility in management of the research techniques, safety of the researcher and participants, as well as accessibility to participants. Culturally, the participants are naturally very shy towards strangers. With this in mind, the selection of method had to be a client-centered type that would encourage them to speak freely but at the same time not expose them to unnecessary stress. The selection of specific strategies also considered recognition of their historical and cultural orientation that promotes respect and consideration among participants (Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Pal 1993; Guba 1990). Based on these criteria, the general plan and geographical coverage of the study was chosen.

Study Participants

Data collection in qualitative research is directed at understanding people's experiences in a context. It often involves the researcher in a natural setting, the place to discover, or uncover what is to be known about the phenomenon of interest (Bugress, 1995; Spradley, 1979). The utilization of the natural setting in identifying and understanding the environmental needs of nomadic women and girls lead me to field experience in the grazing camps which serves as their domiciles. In this context I observed them for the purpose of data collection, and spent time with them, which led me to a more developed explicit and tacit knowledge. The data collection was basically from three sources: (a) the Fulbe themselves, and in particular, the women and girls involved in the literacy program; (b) the curriculum developers and educators involved in providing the programs; and (c) policy makers and bureaucrats who developed the policy and are responsible for its implementation.

The Fulbe Sites

The study involved nine grazing camps in the major states occupied by the nomadic Fulbe in Northern Nigeria: Adamawa/Gombe, Kaduna, Plateau, Niger and Taraba as well as the new federal capital territory, Abuja. The selection of the specific areas was based on the camps having a significant number of the female population involved in the literacy programs as well as high participation of the girls in nomadic primary schools. Other considerations included geographical location in relation to main roads and proximity to the government headquarters and to the state nomadic commissions, as well as accessibility of learners to the schools and literacy centers. The staff of the state commission assisted in selecting the sites and acted as my guides in the field research.

Fulbe Women and Girls, Household Heads and Community Leaders

At each site, I spent time with a family group and conducted five interviews: One each with the women, the girls, the male teacher(s), the female teacher(s) and with the community leaders *Ardo/Modibbo*. Most of their leaders represent or are members of a strong economic and political all-male association, Miyyeti Allah Cattle Association of Nigeria, (MACABAN) and Al-Hayas. Kurt and Hamilton (1978) consider the use of community leaders to be a valuable source of baseline information on the community. The interview with the community leaders often included religious leaders, as well as a few heads of households. I undertook observation of girls and teachers in normal classes in primary schools and of women and instructors in the literacy classes. Informal conversations were held randomly with members of the grazing camps for more information. I spent between three and five days in each grazing camp.

The Curriculum Developers and Educators

I interviewed curriculum developers from the University of Jos and from Usmanu DanFodio University, Sokoto affiliated to the commission on matters of curriculum. Inquiries were made on the needs, benefits and effects of the curriculum on women and girls. The director of the multi-media centre in charge of the Interactive Radio Education Program was also interviewed on the management and organization of the radio educational programs i.e., effects and participation of timing of broadcasts and material supply to women listeners. Additionally, one male and one female broadcaster as well as two female extension project officers were interviewed in two selected grazing zones.

The Policy Makers

Four policy makers were interviewed and audio taped for insights on the co-direction of the policy and challenges of the implementation. They were the past and incumbent executive secretaries of the commission and one female pioneer of the nomadic education programs at the state level as well as a prominent northern female politician. In addition, six other political actors, educators, civil servants and Fulbe interest group members were also interviewed, some formally and others informally.

Data Collection Techniques

Ethnographic studies' data are collected through interviews, observations and field notes (Makut & Morehouse, 1996). Kurt and Hamilton (1978) recommended that policy researchers need to generate baseline data through techniques like interviews and observation for policy studies.

Interviewing

The approach recommended by most qualitative researchers is the interview because it is often seen as superior to other data-gathering devices. The low literacy level of my primary participants and their shortcomings in reading and writing skills guided my consideration to this approach. From experience I knew they would be more comfortable with oral discussion than written surveys. All interviews were within 40 minutes; this was to control boredom as well as in consideration of the domestic commitments of women and girls, by not being too long. Additionally, the face-to-face interview motivated participants to speak further, which established better rapport between the researcher and the researched. Many writers (Merriam, 1998; Marshall in Guba, 1990) suggested the need for good rapport between participants and the researcher in order to secure relations, and build the confidence of the participants and for free flow of information. Best and Khan (1989) further commented that "after the interviewer gains rapport, establishes a friendly, secured relationship with the subjects, certain types of confidential information may be obtained that an individual may be reluctant to put in writing" (p.201). In order to establish sufficient rapport it may be necessary to consider gender, race, and possibly other characteristics of the interviewer in relation to the interviewee (Merriam, 1998; Best and Khan, 1989). As a female researcher, I was more acceptable to household heads (husbands and parents of my participants). Based on my gender I was not only qualified by their socio-cultural standards and religious norms to involve their women in my study but I also enjoyed the privilege of talking freely with them as a familiar person who belonged to them by induction through marriage as well as biologically through my matrilineal lineage. I used both individual and focus group methods. Individual audiotaped interviews were conducted with the policy makers, the curriculum developers and educators and the female politician.

Focus group interviewing. Separate group interviews were conducted with the women and girls, the household heads as community members the male teachers and the female teachers. This method is defined by Morgan (1997) as " interaction within the group based on topics that are supplied by the researcher who typically takes the role of a moderator" (p.2). In addition, Kitzenger (1994 cited in Pilcher and Coffey, 1996) define it as "group discussions organized to explore a specific set of issues" (p.117). The selection of the method of interview was based on its purposefulness to the participants and myself. Chouinard and Albert (1990, cited in Pilcher and Coffey 1998) commented that a "focus group allows the researcher to experience the participants' frustrations, satisfactions, fears and rewards" (p.127). In addition, Morgan (1997) identified the hallmark of the focus group as the use of interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group. The method offers both delight and despair and also encourages greater fluency among the participants which enables the collection of data on sensitive issues. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Morgan (1997) reiterated its uses as a "self contained" method and a principal source of data. Additionally, it serves as a "multimethod" which combines two or more means of gathering data in which no one primary method determines the use of others. Another advantage of the focus group technique is that it enabled me to observe large group interaction on a topic in a limited period of time.

The focus group technique employed in the study gave "voice" to the "voiceless" group that may not otherwise be heard (Robin, 1993). The participants in my study were naturally shy in terms of speaking to outsiders as individuals. More so, discussing issues like western education in an Islamic-oriented culture with an existing Quranic education is sensitive. Hence, bringing together women to speak in relation to the study not only encouraged them to be fluent and outspoken but they became sensitized as they prompted each other and " opened up" their feelings, perceptions, fears and aspirations. The focus group interview method promoted effective communication, especially with my use of the local language which made participants more comfortable and relaxed. Borg and Gall (1989) commented that "the respondent must fully understand the language in which the questions are framed" (p.461). In order to ensure this, the participant's native dialect Fulfulde, and Hausa were used in questioning and for my responses in order to achieve an effective level of communication and feedback.

There were generally ten women to a focus group. This was to help me ensure proper recording and transcription of the data. Morgan (1992a; 1997) as a rule of thumb notes that "participants should be within 6-10 per group" (p. 20). Reasons for the choice of a smaller number for the focus group interview were so that I could listen better to responses during the session. Morgan (1997) reiterated that small groups are most useful as each participant will have time to talk. In addition to this, a small number of focus group participants were closer to the tape recorder and provided fewer chorus responses.

Observation

Observation was another qualitative technique used in the study. Observations were made of a full range of activities, a method that involved looking with a purpose (Spradley, 1980; Marshall in Guba, 1990). Additionally, Adler and Adler (1994) identified the technique as "consist[ing] of gathering impressions of the surrounding world through all relevant human faculties" (p. 320). Etzioni (1978) referred to observation as search light theory, an act in which a person plays an active part, while Jorgensen (1989) referred to participant observation as an "insider's view point to generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence." (p.6)

The choice of observation technique was based on its merits. Denzin (1978, cited by Okebola, 1998) ascertained that " observation simultaneously combines documents analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection" (p. 36). In addition, Rosnow and Rosenthal (1998) explained that " it often gains insights and develops interpersonal relationships that are virtually impossible to achieve with other methods" (p.24). Further advantages highlighted by (Adler and Adler 1994; Borg and Gall, 1989; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992) include its ability to draw the observer into the phenomenological complexity of the world where connections, correlation, and causes can be witnessed and how they can unfold. Morgan (1997, 1994; 1984) added that it enables the ability to collect data in a larger range of behaviors; a greater variety of interactions with the study participants and a more open discussion of the research topic.

As an observer I noted events which I used as the basis for discussion during interviews. This gave me more insights in understanding happenings. Observation helped me understand the impact of the literacy program on women and on their environment.

Observation was made of women's literacy classes and a class session in primary schools in each of the grazing camps. I focused on class interaction, comprehension, participation, distractions, and material management, and teacher-student relations within and outside the class as well as the use of the recess period. Furthermore, private observations were made on after school day activities of women and girls. The focus was on how they imparted their learning to their living practices, e.g., on nutrition (cooking and food sanitation), and child care education within the household.

Field Notes

In addition, I engaged in further data collection through field notes, which contained what was seen and heard. Silverman (1997) defined field notes as an attempt to provide a literal account of what happened in the field setting, the social processes and their contexts. While Hammerseley and Atkinson (1983) advised that field notes should be organized by what, how and when, and to record them in the form of jottings with labeled pages, Spradley, (1979) recommended four separate kinds of field notes; the condensed (verbatim) account, an expanded account recorded as soon as possible after each field session; a field work journal that contains experiences, ideas, fears, mistakes, confusions, breakthrough and problems that arise during field work; and the provisional running record of analysis and interpretation. All these strategies seek legibility and chronology.

The choice of field notes technique to the study was based on its numerous advantages. It provided a means to check reliability as well as detailing the relevant the context of observation; however, it also encouraged the incorporation of socially undesirable but relevant content through self thoughts, speculations and theoretically unpalatable interpretations (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 56). The use of field notes provide me with an orientation to my personal and cognitive style and through self-reflexivity, I maintained a stronger methodological commitment (Dummont, 1978; Levi-Strauss, 1961; vanMannen, 1982 cited in Kirk and Muller, 1986). Additionally, field notes served as a ' backup' against lost or unclear recordings from tape-recorded interviews which occurred on a number of occasions. It is also served as a way to document informal additional information acquired from participants.

Documentary Sources

Other relevant documents such as government gazettes, minutes of meetings between locals and government officials, religious leaders, politicians and northern women activists on women's education were used as data. I also attended two meetings and a workshop organized by UNICEF (Nigeria) and the National Commission for Nomadic Education for teenage nomadic mothers on "Complementary and Breast feeding Education" November 2-5, 2000.

Videotapes and Photographs

These were gathered to be used as additional sources of data. I employed private professionals as well as staff of the media section from the Nomadic Commission to take photographs and video in all the camps I visited for the study. It was to be used as additional data in which specific recall of information and actions were presented as data on the participants at data analysis. In each of the camps video coverage was done in a day between 9am to 7pm while the photographs were within the 3 to 5 days of the researcher's stay. Especially in the traditional camps, the data collection procedure was surrounded with issues of timing and availability of women and girls who were still involved in their sustainable trade of dairy products. Their availability was possible only with repeated attempts.

Data Collection in Practice

I collected the data over a four-month period (September to December 2000). Initially, I had planned to visit five camps, but in discussion with the National Commission for Nomadic Education academic officials, they selected the camps covered in the study. In the end I was able to visit four traditional camps and five reformed camps where the influence of non *Sunni* Islamic sects orientation is prominent, otherwise with social systems fashioned in the *Sharia* which has changed the social and economic life style of the women and girls and their expectations to visitors to their communities. In all I traveled over eight thousand kilometers to the major connecting urban centres enrouting to the grazing camps by road. As a woman traveler, I had a male guide for cultural and safety reasons. Usually, permission to come to the camp had been obtained through the Commission. When we arrived I first met with the Ardo, and explained the reasons for my visit and my need to spend time with the women and girls in the traditional camps.

The reformed grazing camps had a different social environmental 'tone' with demands and expectations of my appearance in conducting interviews with the heads of the communities, male teachers and heads of households. Such expectations required me to appear like their women and girls by dressing in the *hijab*. Initially, in two of the camps on the first days in my interviews with the women and girls, I was accompanied by a male whom I consider was assigned to monitor their responses to me. After my overnight stay in some of their households the women became more open and the male "gate keeper" was no more visible; I was left alone with my women and girls.

In the traditional camps, women and girls were very relaxed and cooperated with me throughout the period of data collection process. In all camps participants spoke with clarity and precision to questions on the interviews. During my class observation the women and girls were shy in responding to the teacher's questions especially in English language lessons for fear of wrong sentence constructions. When I inquired from the teachers after the class, they mentioned that the presence of the camera men and me coming from overseas for the interview shook their earlier built confidence in English lessons.

In two camps specifically, Yobe Fulbe and Tudun Fulani all in the Federal capital territory Abuja, the first two days of my visit were interrupted by private health mobile officials of the Catholic missionaries of St. Mary of Ireland, a philanthropist organization based in Abuja, Nigeria. The nuns and indigenous nurses and doctors have been in contact with nomadic communities concerning health issues for over five years. Their presence was specifically on the immunization of children and women against killer diseases like polio, measles, diphtheria and meningitis. The presence of health officials allowed me to observe the women's concerns for their participation in such a scheme, and also gave me an opportunity to interview the health officials on the reception of the female parents to the program.

The observation procedures in the households involved me in domestic chores with the women and girls; in activities like cooking, fetching firewood and water with the girls as well as engaging in pounding grains with the women. I also used the observation period to update my own skills of weaving and cotton spinning with the women and girls at nights when I discovered their use of some soft technologies and materials on the finished products.

Generally, the data collection procedure was hitch free with exceptions of environmental hazards such as river flooding, torrential rainfall as well as bad roads to the camps especially the traditional camps, which were in the interior. In one case I had to be led on foot from Toro local headquarter by the community leader of Wurjamo (Nyamuru) to his camp a walk of 2 miles.

Participants were very receptive, kind and accommodating. In each camp the recording of my activities were never questioned; instead women and girls were very enthusiastic about their voices on the tape recorders as well as excited to be in photographed and on video.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis has received increasing attention over the last two decades (see Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Delamount, 1992; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Dey, 1993; Hermeseley, 1992 Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990; Reisman, 1987; 1993; Silverman, 1993; Wolcott, 1994). Analysis is often described as synonymous with interpretations of the data, a research activity that involves several different but related elements of operations (Miles and Huberman, 1994). It begins when one has accumulated a subset of the data, providing an opportunity for the salient phenomenon under study to begin to emerge (Okebola, 1998). Qualitative analysis occurs at various levels. It uses explicitness, abstraction, and systemization, within the selective perception of the researcher, and mediated by the language of experience, to lead to a more selective and systematic conclusion. Strauss (1987) commented,

> Experiential data gives the researcher a satisfying sense of freedom, linked with understanding that this is not license to run wild but is held within the bounds of controls exerted through a carefully managed triad of data collection/coding and memoing. This triad of data serves as a genuinely explicit control over the researcher's biases. (p.11)

More so, analyzing data confronts the researcher with the concept of the self in shaping the outcome as well as being integral to the competence with which the analysis is carried out (Miles and Huberman, 1994). According to the report of the Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE) Gender Analysis for Educational Policy workshop 1998, researchers using qualitative analysis on educational policy related to gender can "reveal what is happening; they reveal to whom it is happening; they reveal the extent to which it happens; they indicate that there are problems; they prompt further investigation" (p.28).

The first part of data analysis began with the transcription. I transcribed the responses of women and girls as well as the community/religious leaders and heads of households from Fulfulde and Hausa to English. This was followed with sequential placing of the data into categories. This process enabled me to hold together the theoretical analysis and information presented and also to be aware of how it was being presented (Skeggs, 1991 cited by Maynard & Purvis, 1994). In addition, I included some additional issues raised during data collection.

Specifically, data analysis was in two parts. First, the information from each camp was reconstructed, the individual interviews were transcribed and initial categories were identified. Then the data were regrouped based on the major research questions. Next, the data were transferred into the gender policy grid. The Gender Educational

Policy Matrix (GEPM) designed by FAWE (1999; 1998) provided a systematic format for linking data and the existing policy as well as policy options. The GEPM categories were: (a) gender issues or disparities; (b) practices responsible for the issues; (c) the socio-cultural context of these practices; (d) existing policies related to the gender issues and (e) suggested policy options. After transcribing the data into the grid, the latter part of the analysis involved discussions of data supported by literature. In doing so, further analytical reviewing identified some "critical paths" which I might had not seen earlier (Rawlings, 1988).

Trustworthiness

The concept of validity is defined by Ary, Jacobs and Ranzavieh (1972) as " the degree to which what is measured is what is supposed to be measured" (p.91). Reliability according to Charles (1995) is the consistency of data. The qualitative research paradigm postulates three criteria for establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, confirmability, and transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; 1989).

In this study, credibility was pursued through member checking of various themes and sub categories in individual and focus group interviews, to ensure interpretation of data corresponds to what was communicated. In this study, credibility was pursued through member checking of various themes and sub categories in individual and focus group interviews, to ensure interpretation of data corresponded to what was communicated. Memberchecking is described by Stake (1995) as "employing an actor by a researcher to review the material for accuracy and palatability" (p.115). In addition, Douglas (1976:131 cited by Bloor, 1997) sees it as the validation of the researchers' "analysis by asking a collectivity of members to judge the adequacy of the researchers analysis, taking results back to the field asking the members recognize, understand and accept ones descriptions"(p.21). With reference to this study, I re-visited a few near by camps and held post-camp meetings with some groups to help establish the credibility of the data. This assisted in the final analysis of the data for accuracy as well as gained the approval of the participants on the obtained information.

In addition, the four months spent in visiting the sites guarded against inaccuracies and my bias. Drafted questions for the interviews were given to an independent researcher conversant with Fulfulde for feedback to assist in reframing the questions in the language of the participants for better understanding. The use of the response person and the continued conversations among the participants enhanced confirmability, as well as ensured adequate data confirmation. Issues of transferability have been addressed by the presentation of sufficient descriptive data to enable readers to determine the fit of the data within their own contexts.

Ethical Consideration of Methods

Ethics have been defined by Smith (cited in Guba, 1990) as "complex of ideals showing how individuals should relate to one another in particular situations, principles of conduct guiding those relationships and to the kind of reasoning one engages in when thinking of such ideals and principles" (p. 141). A more elaborate definition by Rosnow and Rosenthal (1998) explained ethics as "values by which we judge the conduct of individual researcher's morality of the research strategies they use" (p.58). Ethical principles according to House (1993, cited by Newman & Brown, 1996) are "mutual respect, non-manipulation and support for democratic values and institutions" (p.167). The ethical research standards employed in the study were respect of autonomy, nonmalefeasance, beneficence, confidentiality, and fidelity.

Respect of Autonomy

This is considered not only as a right but an obligation on the participants. Kant (1778/1956 cited by Newman & Brown, 1996) commented that ethical choices should be determined by what is considered a duty or obligation. He argued that persons must be treated as autonomous ends and never as a means to other ends. Qualitative researchers emphasize that research should promote the participants' right to act freely, make free choices and think as they wish (Newman & Brown, 1996).

To demonstrate this in the study, I began with an early briefing to participants with regards to the purpose of the inquiry. This is necessary in order to reduce any misunderstanding about what was required (Bodgan and Biklen,1998; Bulmer, 1983). The approach to this was both verbal and written forms with the use of vernacular language of the participants. They were informed of the purpose and nature of the study as well as information regarding their involvement in the data collection procedures of interview and observation.

In addition, permission was sought in formal writing from the National Commission of Nomadic Education to conduct the study. Smith (cited in Guba, 1990) mentioned that "informed consent is often handled bureaucratically by initial discussions of the nature of the project and consent of the participants" (p.155). This assisted me in obtaining easier access to the participants without undue suspicion as well as provided easier "village entry" (Bulmer and Warwick, 1983; Hershfield, Rohling, Keir & Caesar, 1983).

Nonmalfeasance. The idea of harm prevention to participants during research has been emphasized in all qualitative studies. Beauchamp and Childress, (1983) and Drane, (1982 cited by Newman & Brown, 1996) referred to malfeasance in any study as the damage to self esteem or liberty, reputation, psychological injury in the form of stress, and undue aggravation. In order to protect participants from harm in the study due to undue stress, consideration was given to time limit or duration involving participants in interviews. Furthermore, participants' involvement in the research-selected methods was voluntary not by cohesion. Smith (cited in Guba, 1990) commented that "research should not harm the subjects. Individuals should not be harmed by the research process" (p. 194).

Beneficence

This is a principle dating as far back as Socrates. Banagarten (1982) and Kitchener (1985 cited by Newman and Brown, 1996) described it as a principle of doing good to participants. To promote their benefits in the process of research, Marshall (1990, cited by Guba, 1990) reiterated that "People in the research should benefit in some way (ranging from getting free meal or an hour of systematic listening to being empowered to throw off their chains)" (p. 171). I tried to demonstrate this through good behavior beyond normal expectations, and encouraging good relationships between the individuals involved in the study and myself. In addition, I employed the use of systematic listening as a means of empowering the participants. Being in a rural setting characterized with poverty, most of the participants did not possess some basic needs. Considering this, and to enable them to have some material benefits from the study at the period of gathering data, I shared domestic needs like toilet soaps and salt with the women and girls involved in the study.

Confidentiality

This, in effect, is the respect of privacy of participants. Burgess (1988) explained it as "assurance of confidentiality, anonymity and the use of pseudonyms" (p. 151). Studies in most developing countries around the world have indicated that the idea of personal privacy is often very difficult to observe. This is because communal life is centered around family, kinship clan and village as traditions of rural settings in developing countries (Hersfield, et al., 1983). Confidentiality with participants was considered seriously during the data collection process by re-grouping participants at the focus interviews. In the data analysis, identities were kept anonymous and confidential; even their first names were not used. For the policy makers and bureaucrats where anonymity is more difficult, this issue was discussed with them prior to their participation.

Fidelity

Fidelity is explained as being faithful or, by implication, keeping promises and being honest with participants (Newman & Brown, 1996). A few philosophers consider fidelity as a fundamental principle from which all other ethical principles of research follow; to them it is the prima-facie principle. I tried to be open, objective and sincere in the types of questions posed to the participants, and did not deviate from the terms of agreement between the researched and the researcher.

Summary

This chapter contained a description of the methodology of the study. It is basically a qualitative research study with concerns for women and girls in educational programs in an ethnic Fulbe setting. The assumptions of the study centered on the fact that the choice of orientation is compatible to previous studies conducted with the Fulbe, which were mostly anthropological approaches. Justification for the selection of the data sites was based on availability of a population of women and girls who are participating in the policy education process. Additionally, the tools for gathering data such as the interview (unstructured and focus types), observation, oral survey, field notes, documentary materials, video and photography in relation to their justification, and strategy of use were mentioned. Approaches to data analysis based on memberchecking and the Gender Educational Policy Matrix model matrix were highlighted. Ethical considerations of thestudy were also discussed in relation to both the researched and the researcher on autonomy, non malfeasance, beneficence, confidentiality and fidelity. The description of the field camps and the analysis of the data in relation to the GEPM are provided in the following chapters.

Chapter 5

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE CAMPS

The recent political dispensation in today's Nigeria is characterized by ethnic schism which has affected the implementation procedures of most social policies. The worst affected are policies involving educational issues at all levels. Unfortunately, education per se, has been pushed aside as a lesser priority in the present democratic dispensation. This is evident in the various national budgetary allocations, where education is losing its supremacy in comparison to other sectors of the social system.

In the 2001 budget allocation, the education sector received only 24.8 billion Naira as compared to the power and steel sector, which had the highest allocation of 69.8 billion Naira. In the hierarchy of sector by sector allocation, education is third to the last. The down playing of educational programs, which is reflected in the decreases in the government's financial commitments towards the effective running of educational programs is evident in the 2000-2001 federal government budget plan (Edukugho, 2000). In addition, the Obasanjo government has complicated many of its commitments to the old policy, the National Policy of Education (from which all other sub-educational policies like the nomadic policies are drawn), by recently introducing new policies. They include Education Sector Analysis (ESA), the Child Friendly School Initiative (CFSI), the Universal Basic Education (UBE) and the Distance Learning Policy (DLP) (The Commet, 2001), which have indirectly interfered with the implementation of other educational policies, such as the Nomadic Education Policy.

Further, the implementation of the Nomadic Education Policy has also recently been affected through social changes, particularly in the Muslim northern parts of

Nigeria. The persistent concern of the nomadic Fulbe Muslim *Umma* or communities about issues of morality, qualities of practices and dedication to the doctrines of Islam led to their association with Islamic fundamental sects, such as the *Shia'at* and the *Muslim Brotherhood* (pro- Iranian and Egyptian based fundamentalist movements) whose doctrines have taken control of some nomadic camps' general social systems. Additionally, this has reflected the concerns of northern Muslim controlled state governments which have always emphasized concerns about the moral degradation of the society, which they attributed to the overemphasis on modernity (perceived as westernization) and the rejection of the traditional cultural mores. Hence, the state and tribal nomadic Fulbe *Umma's* turn to religious policies that can be referred to as "moral hygiene" on women and girls and which have been legislated through the adoption and implementation of the orthodox Islamic law of *Sharia*. The adoption of this law has had a negative effect on women and girls. As observed by Sanusi (2000) "choices made from the range of alternatives reflect a predisposition towards the oppression of women, their alienation making them vulnerable to exploitation" (p.1).

Thus, in most nomadic camps this orientation or preference for fundamentalist Islamic doctrines and general life style has tremendously interfered with the implementation and receptivity of educational programs by the women and girls as well as the communities in general. Amongst the nomadic Fulbe population, it has influenced their personal focus and expectations concerning formal schooling for girls and literacy classes for women. These have changed the women and girls' participation, social demands and choice of educational programs as noted in their religious rallies and advertisements and in their preferences for a change in the curriculum, and demands for more female teachers in managing classroom instruction especially for women's literacy classes (Al-Mizan, 2001). The impact of the new religious inclination has brought changes in many dimension of the lives of women and girls in most grazing camps, in particular, in their social and economic operations.

With these conditions, the scope of the study was extended from five (5) to nine (9) encampments. This was to enable me to have wider and more diversified data to provide some comparisons between those groups of nomadic women and girls and their communities living and practicing the orthodox nomadic life and those camps or communities that have recently embraced the fundamentalist life style, in terms of their participation and the impact of the Nomadic Education Policy. Additionally, the change was to substitute for the group resident in the southern part of the country who, following the introduction of *Sharia* laws in the North, have been forced to migrate back to the northern Savannah for fear of aggressive attacks and the negative attitude of their hosts. The remainder of this chapter contains a general description of the camps followed by specific information on the educational experiences of the women and girls.

The Nomadic Fulbe Camps

The field work in Nigeria covered nine (9) Fulbe grazing camps (see Figure 5): Four of the grazing camps still practice the old nomadic Fulbe life style as orthodox *Sunni* Muslims. Their women and girls' social and economic life style depicts some degree of freedom as described in my earlier chapters. These camps are Fulbe Paiko grazing camp, Paiko, (Niger State); Nyamuru grazing camp, Nyamuru, Toro Local Government; Wuro Hamza grazing camp, Ningi Local Government Area, (Bauchi State) and Yobe Fulbe, Lugbe, federal capital territory Abuja.

The other five camps have adopted a new social system based on religious Islamic fundamentalism of the *Shia'at* doctrine. The camps affected are Rafin Guza in Kaduna north local government Area (Kaduna State); Mazat Rop in Barkin Ladi Local Government Area (Plateau State); Tudun Fulani in Bwari all in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Others are Jangore, in Lau local government area of (Taraba State) and Rakauna in Kura local government area of (Kano State).

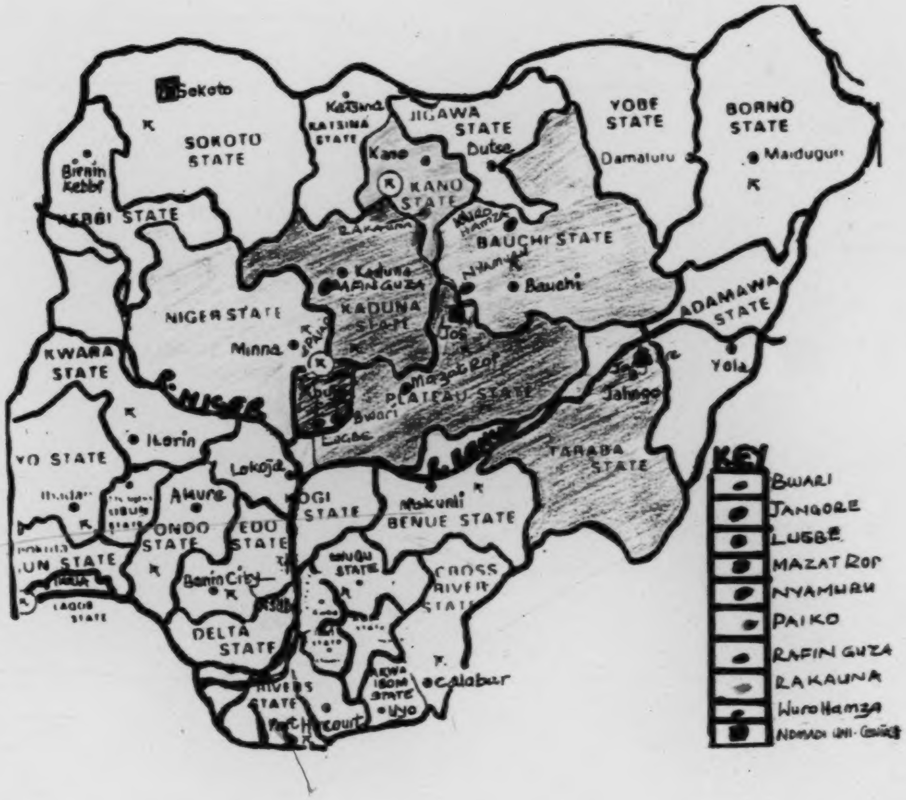
Geography

All the nomadic camps covered in the study are geographically sited in the north central, eastern and western parts of northern Nigeria. They are in the interior Savannah grassland region, with a "raining" season from April to early September of each year. Most camps are in areas covered with small hills and near small streams, which provide them with a source of water for domestic and animal consumption. A big river demarcates one of the camps, Fulbe Paiko.

The traditional camps not affected by the new religious reform were experiencing high shortage of pasture for the consumption of their cattle as a result of a semi-drought. This dilemma forced the pastoral families to partial movements each year and total movement every ten years. Traditionally, according to the nomads the cattle react with a change of attitude as well as with health concerns and this signal for a change of environment is a major consideration in migration.

Camps that have undertaken social changes in religious ideals are generally situated closer to local government headquarters. They have adjusted to a more semi-sedentary life. In addition, all of them have wells as their source of water supply for domestic and animal consumption, most of which were dug through community efforts and later expanded and modernized by either the local government or other multilateral bodies as an assistance to the communities.

Figure 5


Sokoto
SOKOTO STATE
Birnin Kebbi
KEBBI STATE
Katsina
KATSINA STATE
JIGAWA STATE
Dutse
Kano
KANO STATE
YOBE STATE
Damaturu
BORNO STATE
Maiduguri
Rakauna
Wuro Hamza
BAUCHI STATE
Nyamuru
Bauchi
Kaduna
RAFIN GUZA
KADUNA STATE
NIGER STATE
Minna
Paiko
Jos
Mazat Rop
PLATEAU STATE
Bwari
Lugbe
ADAMAWA STATE
Yola
Jalingo
TARABA STATE
KWARA STATE
Ilorin
R. NIGER
OYO STATE
Ibadan
OSUN STATE
Akure
ONDO STATE
EDO STATE
Benin City
Lokoja
KOGI STATE
Makurdi
BENUE STATE
ENUGU STATE
CROSS RIVER STATE
Calabar
AKWA IBOM STATE
Uyo
DELTA STATE
RIVERS STATE
Port Harcourt
LAGOS STATE
KEY
BWARI
JANGORE
LUGBE
MAZAT ROP
NYAMURU
PAIKO
RAFIN GUZA
RAKAUNA
Wuro Hamza
NOMADI UNI. CENTRE

The location of the grazing camps covered in the study

Source: Federal Ministry of Information yearbook, Nigeria (1998)

Social Organization

All the camps have populations of less than 300 people in which more than half are women and children. In the traditional camps, the households are arranged in a circle according to the extended family system. The huts are mostly made from thatched grass and bamboo sticks [*kara*] and are in dome shapes or *igloo* patterns.

In the reformed camps, household structures and organization, while somewhat modernized, are still arranged in the typical Fulbe style based on blood ties. Houses are made of mud with thatched roofs, and cornstalks or the cactus plant are used to provide a fence surrounding the entire household. A symbol of "no entry without permission" inscribed on cardboard and tied on the pseudo wall signifies that the women in such households are under *purdah* or *kulle*.

Transportation

Transport systems in and out of traditional camps are basically by means of animals such as cows and donkeys. Some of the men have bicycles. The road system to the interior is constructed by the nomads referred to as feeder roads, which are narrow and undulating with gravels and stones, and often full of potholes in the rainy seasons. In the case of Fulbe Paiko camp in Niger State, the nomads constructed a local bridge, which gives them access to the neighboring village and to the main tarred road to the cities. In the peak of raining season, in the month of August, the bridge is submerged so they hire boats from the neighboring Hausa and Gwari tribes for a fee, while some use their cattle to swim across to the other side of the river.

In the other camps, even though their roads were initially constructed through their efforts, their proximity to government areas has resulted in the local politicians expanding the roads with the use of tractors which enables easier movement of even cars; the roads can be classified as the trunk 'B' roads. Most household heads own and use bicycles, scooters and even some of the community heads (the Ardos in Mazat Rop, Yobe Fulbe, Tudun Fulani and Rakauna have personal cars, which are used for easing the movement of people in and out of the community.

Camp Administration

In all the camps in this study the management is in the hands of men. Patriarchy is part of the Fulbe tradition and reflects the myth of the origin of the Fulbe tribe. The head of each camp is referred as the *Ardo*, a Fulbe word meaning a leader. Most Ardos are learned in the Islamic doctrine regardless of the sects they belong to. In some camps they combine roles of both community and religious leaders, while in other camps there are different religious leaders referred to as *Moddibbo* or *Liman*. Religious leaders are charged with administering orderliness and ensuring response to religious obligations by all members of the community. Other functions include participation in prayers, involving the periodic learning and recitation of verses of the Quran, as well as responding to questions and answers on issues of religious growth and Muslim family living. The *Modibbos* are also involved in administering justice especially family and marriage types according to the Islamic family law of *Sharia*. Married teenage women can forward their religious concerns in the form of inquiries through their spouses to the *Liman* amongst the *Shiaat* nomadic Fulbe, while the traditional nomadic Fulbe women, often ask their Quranic teachers directly during one of their evening classes [they must be questions outside sex education].

In all the camps the women's cooperative society serves as a pseudo administrative channel in organizing and managing women issues, although the men do not politically recognize it. I observed that the leadership of the coop organization serves as an arbitrator on women's issues such settling disputes between women or wives of the same man, encouraging women in participation of literacy classes as well as administering women's traditional saving scheme called *adashe*. The society also served as a forum for their concerns. These were forwarded by a spokeswoman who often is very elderly, to the Ardo and his community. Usually this is on issues like needing support for a loan from the government or reporting spouses who are inhibiting them from participating in school related activities. I observed that in some camps these forums where women's voice could be heard through their cooperating societies were inactive. They were either interrupted by the men or in some instances the society was denied official registration with the local government due to the attitude and lack of concern by the men. One example of this was in Wuro Hamza.

Women and Girls in Religious Practices

The entire populations of all the camps are practicing Muslims. The traditional nomadic camps belong to the orthodox *Sunni* sect which is also that of the Fulbe reformist, Usman Dan Fodio of the 1904 Sokoto Caliphate, while the reformed camps are Muslims of the *Shiaat* sect [a pro Iranian sect].

In all the sites of the study, religious obligations of women and girls include their private daily worship as well as their observation of the various religious festivals. They also undertake the Quranic school classes in the evenings depending on the arrangements in the camp. Most of the teachers involved are males [except in some of the reformed camps which have one or two women as Quranic teachers]. Most of the girls can recite almost half the verses of the Quran loudly in a singsong pattern. They can also write in the Arabic italics as well as speak a little Arabic by citing the Quran.

Within the traditional camps, the women and girls' religious practices have little effect on their mode of dressing: They wear their traditional woven multicolored clothes and decorate themselves with large earrings, bangles and beads at all times. On occasions such as visiting market centres women and girls wear extra make up and decorate themselves with tattoos, which are an indigenous beauty enhancement of traditional Fulbe nomadic women. In the reformed nomadic camps, women and girls are dressed in the *Hijab*. In some of the camps I observed that the married women even wear black socks and a thin transparent veil over their faces.

Females and Social Activities

In the traditional nomadic camps most girls are socially involved in activities such as traditional Fulbe festivals known as *Sharo*. Girls are the centre of the festivity; it involves two boys competing with each other through an endurance exercise to win the love of a girl, which will lead to their marriage celebration. On these occasions the girls are well dressed in their traditional attire and wear a lot of make up and tattoos. They also carry with them fresh and sour milk to the occasion as refreshment. Girls and boys also dance to the rhythm of drums with the boys and girls in different rows facing each other. I witnessed such an occasion at Wuro Hamza in Ningi local government in Bauchi State. It is a social engagement for the very young and unmarried boys and girls of the camps. The celebration occurs during late parts of the raining season and may run from four in the evening to the early morning of the following day.

At marriage celebrations, girls participate in traditional Fulbe dances and songs as a tribute to their age mate, the bride, to the admiration of young community members. They, along with the women, sing along as they take the bride to her new home; the bride's closest friends will spend the night with her and leave the following day. The women on the other hand engage themselves in periodic visits to each other's households. They participate in all catering services in festivals like marriage and naming ceremonies. They do not dance in public celebrations but observe and cheer the dancers especially the young girls.

In the reformed camps, women's social life is strictly controlled and in some cases abolished. Girls in these camps do not engage in Fulbe *Sharo* festivals; traditional practices like the *Sharo* and the involvement of girls in dancing at such public functions are interpreted as anti-Islamic as well as a means of overexposing women and girls to vulnerable acts of immorality. The council of the learned men see the women's actions as immoral but moral for the males, a form of discrimination and condemnation of the women and girls. The females participate in marriage ceremonies with only women and girls with the bride.

In all the camps in the study, women and girls observed and participated in all Muslim festivals like *Eid-Id-Fitr* and *Maulud*, and they exchanged food in dishes and milk amongst themselves. The girls volunteered to take such dishes to various households. The practice strengthens further socialization of community members and recognition and reaffirmation of family ties in the entire communities.

Women and Girls in Economic Activities

Women and girls in these camps are still involved in the production, processing and sale of milk and other dairy products at markets and on the streets. They process all dairy products within the confines of their households using local preservation methods. In all the camps women rear domestic animals like chickens, guinea fowl, goats and sheep which they occasionally sell in the larger markets. They are also involved with subsistent agriculture or backyard farming in producing chili pepper, okra and baobab leaves, *kuka*, as well as fresh vegetable leaves like spinach and tomatoes.

In the group of the six reformed nomadic camps, the practice of seclusion or *purdah* controls the women's economic activities. Women, especially teenage mothers, are not allowed to take their products to the market centres nor to sell on the streets. The women who have passed their menopause and the very young girls, aged 7 to 9 years, go together to sell dairy products in the markets. In my observation, I noticed that the teenage mothers while confined of their household are seriously involved in the processing and production of milk, cheese and butter as well as its preservation.

Other income generating economic activities include vegetable oil processing popularly called *man kulikuli*, as well as converting the peanut byproduct into cakes called *kulikuli*. The husk of the groundnuts is used in feeding the goats and chicken. Women are also involved in the local milling of millet and sorghum by pounding, using the pestle and mortar for grinding to fine flour, for a fee. The women often use the husk from the grains in feeding their domestic reared animals. In some camps like the Mazat Rop, women formed cooperative groups of five to eight for tomato farming. They obtained a soft agricultural loan, but without adequate knowledge of the modern type of farming as related to the fertilized seedlings [which was due to inefficient extension service education] the women operated at a loss.

In all the camps of the study, women have some degree of economic empowerment. Accrued incomes of the activities are expended in the catering responsibilities of the family and are never demanded by their spouses; they independently use their income as they wish. In some instances, girls use their income to save for the expenses of their anticipated wedding day, while others use part of the income in supporting themselves in the purchase of school materials such as books, pencils and so on. The women also use their income to support the family as well as their daughters, especially in ceremonies like wedding or childbirth when they purchase earthenware such as calabashes, dishes, pots and allied cooking utensils.

In some of the semi sedentary nomadic camps like Rafin Guza and Mazat Rop, from time to time, the girls are hired by neighboring farmers as seasonal labor 'pickers' of tomatoes or cotton. The income of this labor according to them is often forwarded to their mothers for safe keeping for future expenses in purchasing wedding things such as calabashes and cooking utensils and local jewelry.

From my observation of all the camps, there is some obvious control of the men over the women's activities. This is based purely on the tenets of the Fulbe culture, which is dominantly patriarchal. Schooling decisions rest with the men either as heads of households or as spouses and generally as community leaders. Often decisions about school are influenced by some religious interpretation by the men [who serve as the council of the learned otherwise referred to as *Ulaama*] with the support of the religious leaders such as emphasizing Quranic education more than western education. I consider such mind tuning as a further means of controlling the women.

Educational Experiences of the Nomadic Fulbe Women and Girls

The school structures varied between the camps. The traditional camps made do with temporary structures and portable equipment while the schools in the reformed camps were usually permanent structures with more facilities.

Setting

In four grazing camps the school did not have any physical structure: Paiko, Yobe Fulbe, Wuro Hamza, and Nyamuru. In these camps, the population of students ranged between 20 and 30 and involved grades 1 to 4. All students sat on mats spread on the ground, while the chalkboard lent against the tree trunk. There were no tables and teachers stood throughout the periods. Pupils' attendance fluctuated especially for the girls. There was no consistency of class attendance in view of their constant visits to the market centre to sell dairy and other products.

Five of the camps had schools with fairly good physical structures: Rafin Guza (Kaduna state), Mazat Rop (Plateau state), Tudun Fulani (Bwari, FCT), Rakauna (Kano state) and Jangore (Taraba state). These were grade 1 to 6 schools with populations of less than 120 students in which girls constitute a third of the population in each of the schools. Class sizes were relatively bigger with the student population being between 30 and 45 students. Classrooms had tables and benches as well as a teachers' table and chair. In some of the most modern schools e.g. in Jangore nomadic school, I noticed the inside building had no ceiling. This made the classrooms very hot as the galvanized sheets covering the building generated a lot of more heat, than the cooler thatched roof system of the traditional structures of the nomads.

In all the camps, the students' sitting arrangement was organized by gender and size; girls and boys sat in different areas, the shorter ones in the front while the taller ones occupied the back seats. In all the primary schools, girls were within the 4 to 14 age range. In all the camps visited there were more boys than girls in the classrooms. The population averaged eight girls to eighteen boys especially in the higher grades [as most girls drop out for marriage]. Not all the schools were in the camps and the distance of some of the nomadic schools from the camps hampers the continuous participation of girls in school. This is evident in camps like Wuro Hamza and annexed camps to Jangore where the girls have to walk a distance of two to three kilometers to the school site.

In some of the reformed camps where mothers are prohibited from selling dairy products because of *purdah* (religious seclusion), the women depend on their daughters to market their products to generate income. The dependency on the girls affects their regular school attendance. Sometimes their mothers may not allow them to attend school especially on market days, which I observed at Tudun Fulani camp. At times such as break periods the girls abscond home, pick their products and proceed to hawk in market centres abandoning school for that day. The economic demands and religious restrictions on the women affect the learning progress of the girls, distorting their full participation in schooling and encouraging subsequent drop out.

Organization of Schools

In my observation of all the schools in this study, the general administration of the schools, including planning, budgeting and coordinating of finances, student enrolment, hiring and firing of personnel (teachers and principals), and material management (supply of books and other instructional materials), is the sole responsibility of the local government who is supervised by the state controlled Nomadic Commission. Additionally, the Nomadic Commission administrative commitments include the supply of instructional materials such as exercise books, pencils and textbooks for both students and teachers. In my observation as well as in my findings from the students, these materials were supplied once in the year, and some teachers did not even have the teacher's text materials. This was more visible in the traditional camps; by virtue of their proximity to the local government headquarters, the reformed camps received a supply of materials from the commission at least twice a year. The principals often visited the commission to collect their supplies and I met a few of them while I was there.

The staff of the Commission at the state level function as mobilizers of the nomads, and as supervisors, monitoring the entire teaching and learning process through liaison with the staff of the local government school board. The commission's monitoring unit is charged with the duty of identifying new schools initiated by the nomads and officially taking over such schools by registration and recommending it to the local school board. The chain of command is between the commission and the local school board. The local government education board and the state Nomadic Education Commission are the overall overseers of primary schools.

Lack of adequate management by the schools boards in providing regular supervision and reporting to the commission on teacher's performance and commitment to schools in the camps affected the academic growth of learners. Lack of incentives like provision of a means of transportation or the regular payment of salaries to female teachers is a barrier to their frequent attendance to teach in the camps, especially the traditional camps far away from the urban centres. Most employed teachers do not reside in the camps they teach. From the Ardos and the teachers, I heard that financial mismanagement and corruption of officers in the commission and local government school boards hindered the proper supply of instructional materials meant for the various school camps and literacy classes.

Leadership of the schools is monopolized by men referred to as headmasters, except at Rafin Guza nomadic school which had a female as deputy headmistress (even though a non-Fulbe). Teachers are employed and posted to nomadic schools by the local government, and sometimes a few are hired by the commission and attached to the local government especially Fulbe language teachers. In all the schools visited, the majority population of teachers were males. Very few were women (only two or three), and in some schools none at all, i.e., Yobe Fulbe and Wuro Hamza.

Generally, there is disparity between the rural traditional camps and the semi-sedentary reformed camps on the basis of teacher supply as well as availability of female teachers, which are more often in the reformed camp schools. In my observation and from my interviews with female teachers, incentives like bicycles and scooters are given to their male counterparts not to them and some did not receive their salary regularly. School days were organized into eight periods.

Students and classroom management. Boys dominate classroom and school leadership; no girls in all the schools visited were appointed either class monitors or deputies. According to the teachers they are often very shy and cannot face the class [even though they have never ever been given the chance]. Most teachers relegated the girls to duties such as sweeping classrooms and collecting and dumping garbage as well as tidying the school environment, an extension of their domestic roles even in the school.

As a national policy, the dress code of all students is based on the uniform system. In most nomadic schools, elementary girls are under dressed as compared to boys, and do not have the required school uniforms. I observed this especially in Nyamuru, Tudun Fulani and Yobe Fulbe schools.

Camps with fundamental Islamic principles have refashioned their school uniform policy to meet the approval of their state governments who are under the *sharia* political system. The mode of female dressing has been changed to reflect their new day to day requirements. Hence, the uniform for girls and women is the *hijab* and it is mandatory for them to wear them to school as school uniforms regardless of the nature of the tropical climate, which made them sweat and was uncomfortable especially in a classroom environment with poor ventilation and insufficient space.

Instructional materials. Text materials designed by the Nomadic Commission are generally gender neutral. They have diagrams and pictures that reflect activities of both sexes but in explanations, the male concepts receive greater emphasis. The eastern Fulfulde dialect is used along with Hausa and English in both students' and teachers' texts.

Girls in most primary schools visited have scanty reading and writing materials: Some especially in the lower primary classes do not have any while in the senior classes, the girls have thin notebooks which are often divided into many subjects, e.g., three courses in a note book of 50 leaves. In all the classes observed, most students share textbooks and some of the texts are worn out as a result of over use. Upon inquiry, the girls responded that when they are short of writing materials their mothers buy some for them or they buy it themselves from their savings of the sales of their dairy products.

Curriculum. The curriculum developed by the Usmanu Dan Fodio University for nomadic primary schools is used in all the schools. In the lower primary classes, the delivery system is predominantly the lecture and play method with emphasis on cognitive and affective domains of learning. A lot of memorization of content is emphasized as well as writing on slates [as done in the Koranic schools] and notebooks. In the higher primary classes, the teaching is more of the lecture method and practical exercises.

The language of instruction in the lower primary is Fulfulde as stated in the Blue Print. This is only applicable in camps that have Fulfulde as their linguafranca and have Fulfulde speaking teachers. In some camps like Fulbe Paiko where the young have lost the Fulfulde language, the language is not taught at any level; instead the dominant assimilated language, Hausa, is used as the medium of instruction. Most teachers in the grazing schools are non-Fulbe speaking, especially in those camps with complete primary grades. Grazing schools with some Fulbe teachers teach Fulfulde as a subject in the lower primary schools e.g., Rafin Guza and Mazat Rop. Other camps like Yobe Fulbe, Nyamuru and Jangore teach all grades in the Fulfulde language. Generally, I observed that in camps when Fulfulde is spoken the girls have a wider command and manipulation of the language in and outside the school environment. This is because of their constant communication with older women either during market visits or at home during leisure periods.

Some grazing camps' receptivity of fundamental Islamic worship has brought pressures on the teachers and the commission for increases in the number of Islamic religious periods in the school timetable. The school boards have permitted the demand and Islamic religious studies are taught as a subject each day.

Literacy Classes for Women

In all the grazing camps visited, there were a substantial number of women attending the literacy classes ranging from 20 to 50 women of all ages. In four camps, women's literacy classes were held under the shade of trees, and women and their babies sat on mats to take classes. I noticed the very aged in attendance who had come with products like beniseed which they peeled using their fingers to remove the shells while they listened to the teacher. Lactating mothers, interrupted by their crying babies, breastfed at the same time as undertaking lessons. All females carry over their domestic chores at all times even in the learning centres and schools and this affected their comprehension as well as distracting their attention from their lessons. In camps with conventional structures, classes were held in the school classrooms. These classes generally took place for two to four hours; the time for classes varies from camp to camp. In most reformed camps classes are held after 1pm, when primary classes are over. In the traditional camps classes are held between 12 to 2 pm for western education. This I gathered is to enable them proceed to sell their dairy products to the markets, along with their daughters. The Islamic classes are held on their return from markets, usually after evening meals for an hour, in an open place with the use of lamps. In most camps, the primary school teachers are the ones involved in literacy classes except in camps like Rakauna (Kano State), Tudun Fulani (Abuja) and Mazat Rop (Plateau State) who had separate female teachers for both Islamic and western education.

Generally, most centres are in the first stage of basic literacy, where the curriculum or primers are based on reading and writing and the learning of Islamic education and English as subjects. The medium of instruction depends on the teacher's background. However, the Fulfulde speaking camps with Fulfulde teachers, like Rafin Guza, use Fulfulde in teaching some primers like religion and health subjects.

A few nomadic women participated in post basic or functional literacy programs; they were at Rafin Guza, Mazat Rop, Rakauna, and Tudun Fulani grazing camps. In these literacy centres, women communicated in English during instruction, and expressed themselves further to teachers in case of difficulties in Fulfulde. As a matter of religious principle in the aforementioned centres the women are compelled to dress in *hijabs* as uniforms during classes or while attending seminars and workshops.

The few female literacy teachers available are non-Fulbe and are often living some distance from the grazing camps. All the nomadic women preferred to have female teachers. In some camps, some of them organized and hired a part-time female teacher in cases where the male teacher failed to show up. But since most of the teachers they hired were non-Muslims, their spouses did not approve them. Hence their religious obligations also hampered their decisions to undertake private efforts to facilitate their teaching and learning activities.

In the traditional Fulbe camps, most teachers were volunteers, who were supported in kind by the members of the community, specifically those teaching women literacy classes. In Yobe Fulbe and Fulbe Paiko camps, women hired female teachers but at the time of my visit, two had quit due to lack of an effective means of transport as well as flooding which made their travel to work impossible. In places like Rakauna and Mazat Rop, the state commission employed female teachers for the literacy classes.

Most teachers involved in the delivery of the literacy curricula are men. The teachers are employed by the local government and posted to the literacy centres. They have shown limited commitment to the work. Some teachers took advantage of the women by not coming regularly to teach the centres, while one of them stole their blackboard, mats, chalk, notebooks and instructional materials. Despite this, at the time of my observation the teacher was still on the local government payroll. Unknown to the commission and the local education board, a few of the male teachers illegally charge the women some "fee". These situations do not provide a comfortable learning environment for the women.

Women attending literacy classes admitted they often support themselves in the purchase of reading and writing materials from the savings of the income generating activities. Very few of them [notably teenage women] admitted their spouses periodically finance as well as buy them books, pencils and other equipment meant for some subjects like food and nutrition and health science.

In all the camps, women and girls take personal responsibility in supporting their learning. In my observation even when they are aware that their fathers and spouses will support them, they do not wait for their support.

Workshops and seminars. Literacy workshops and seminars are organized for women by the commission in collaboration with bodies like UNICEF who in eight states has been organizing workshops on "breastfeeding, complementary feeding and immunization" for nomadic teenage mothers. I attended the November UNICEF five day workshop in Jangore nomadic grazing camp. NGOs like AFRICARE have been involved with nomadic women in the teaching of skills like pomade making, and modern dairy processing. These workshops teach and empower the women in social and economic activities.

Generally, all the women like attending such workshops because they learned new skills and methods of economic activities as well as improving their social life and that of their families and the community in general.

Radio and television educational programs. I observed most nomadic Fulbe women and girls listening to radio education programs, especially those on food and nutrition, health and the lesson series programs as well as the public enlightenment educative types. In two of the camps I observed the teenage mothers who are lactating listening to a food and nutrition repeated broadcast and taking notes on the lesson topic, "Preparing soy bean pudding for your toddler". The following evening these mothers put the lesson into practice and prepared and fed their toddlers with the pudding. In most of the reformed camps, teenage mothers who have primary education use the information learned in their health programs especially in the areas of sanitation and balanced diet preparation.

In some grazing camps especially those who participate in partial movement, the women often have a disruption of continuity of the radio education programs. This may be connected to poor reception of the radios as they women travel into the interior for pastures. The radio evaluation system is poor as most women receive feedback late and in most cases when new lessons have gone half way.

Radio materials are delivered late to most camps by the monitoring and evaluation unit of the commission. The various radio listening groups organized by the Extension

Services of the commission in the camps had fewer women groups and fewer radios were donated to the women in comparison to the men's groups. I consider this as a means of marginalizing women in the distance radio education program.

Women are more committed to the commission's Radio Interactive Education programs. The Extension Service Department in the Nomadic Commission headquarters has selected and is operating radio listening groups for both men and women. According to the director of the extension programs there are 95 radio listening groups in the country. Over 80% are men's listening groups as compared to 20% for the women, who are notably at Rafin Guza, Rakauna and Jangore.

Curricula differentiation in the distance radio programs is a demotivating factor to women's enthusiasm in learning. Men are more involved in listening groups, have more radios and are given faster feedback to lessons and inquiries than women as I observed.

In Kano state, the Fulbe Development Association of Nigeria, Fulfulde language program named *Daddo Jauro'en* has been allocated time on the Radio Kano and the Community Television channel (CTV, Kano) for educative and enlightenment programs. They broadcast programs for Fulbe women (nomads and sedentary) every Thursday from 6-7pm on "Women and modernity, where does the woman fit in our today Nigeria?"

Other educational heath programs focus on child maternal healthcare, and food and nutrition, as well as HIV/AIDS. Sometimes with the permission of their spouses, leaders of women's cooperating groups are invited as discussants on the radio education programs under the coordination of the female officer in charge of literacy programs for women of the state Nomadic Commission.

This chapter described the actual observed educational experiences of women and girls in a cumulative form for all the nine camps in the study. Descriptions were focused on school settings, organization, students and classroom management, instructional materials and curriculum, literacy classes and workshops of women and girls, radio and television education in distance learning. The description in the chapter is the basis of the next chapter on policy analysis. The next chapter focuses on participants' voices as directed by the research design and question recapilated on expectations, relevance, implementation and outcome of the policy. The findings are further explained in the Gender Educational Policy (FAWE, 1998) matrix which is supported with discussions and relevant literature.

Chapter 6

TRADITIONAL POLICY ANALYSIS

This study is an exercise in policy analysis, therefore it is important to understand the meaning, methods and limitations of policy analysis. Policy analysis has been defined by different authors (Duncan 1986 cited Bardes and Dubnick, 1980: 104; Dunn, 1981:35; House and Coleman, 1980:184). For the purpose of this study, the definition of Mayer and Greenwood (1980 cited by Duncan, 1986) is used:

> Policy analysis is a general term, which refers to the multi-faceted process of ascertaining, measuring and evaluating the ends and means of a policy, as well as their inter-relationship. Such analysis may involve the identification and advocacy of particular ends to be sought by public policy, or it may focus on specifying or designing particular programs to meet those ends. Then again, it may be more concerned with evaluating the relationship between those means and those ends. (p. 36)

The authors described policy analysis as essentially an intellectual process that supports the political process. They distinguished between policy analysts and policy makers with the former being "anyone, regardless of his or her professional background, who performs the analytical function of policy" (p.36). Nagel (1980) outlined the forms of policy analysis as " involving the application of problem solving techniques to questions concerning the expressed intentions of governments and those actions it takes or avoids in attaining those objectives" (p. 102).

Policy analysts use a variety of techniques to structure and identify policy problems, investigate their various dimensions and make recommendations. Nadel (1980) in commenting that policy analysis uses problem solving techniques added, " it is a matter of choosing (or even creating) the appropriate tools and methods to be applied in order to answer given questions raised by a problematic situation" (p. 104). In addition, Dror (1968 cited by Duncan, 1986) developed "an optimal model" for policy analysis with the following characteristics:

> It is qualitative, not quantitative; it has both rational and extra rational components; its basic rationale is to be economically rational; it deals with meta-policymaking; it has much built in feedback. (p. 37)

In another dimension, McRae (1980) was more explicit; he identified policy analysis as a four-step process

> Defining the problem in terms of a sufficiently precise way to permit analysis; establishing a system of values to serve as criteria of choice among alternatives; comparing alternatives on the basis of predicted outcomes as judged using the system of values; and assessing the political feasibility of the alternatives.

Dunn (1981:130 cited by Duncan, 1986) highlighted shortcomings of policy analysis as normally practiced within most organizations [education inclusive], and recommended the use of "assumptional analysis" techniques which involve the following procedures in successive phases: "1. stakeholder identification; 2. assumption surfacing; 3. assumption challenges; 4. assumption pooling; 5. assumption synthesis" (p. 37). While a rational analytical technique is important to the process of policy analysis, policy writers like House and Coleman (1980:187) and Michell (1984:151) have pointed out that personal, political, and cultural biases commonly influence analysts' judgement. Similarly, Bardes and Dubnick (1981:111) and House (1981:168) observed that it is common for policy analysts to conduct studies which are motivated by the desire to lend credence to some more determined political stance. Despite discussions of the various analytical methods cited, McRae (1980) and Dunn (1981) both emphasized that the practice of policy analysis does not permit the use of universally applicable theories or generalizations like the other social sciences. Dunn (1981) added,

> Policy analysis cannot be successfully practiced within the boundaries of traditional social science disciplines that emphasize the development and testing of general descriptive theories. These disciplines (economics, sociology, political science, psychology) are often limited in several ways: complex policy problems do not recognize traditional disciplinary boundaries; general theories are seldom applicable to specific policy contexts; and such theories frequently do not provide information that permits policy makers to control or manipulate policy processes. (p. 35)

Hence, it is incumbent for policy analysts to select a methodology and techniques which are appropriate to the situation being studied.

A number of steps were followed to analyze data from the literature and the qualitative data from individual and focus group interviews with women and girls, teachers and community leaders concerning their involvement or participation in the implementation of the educational policy. Mayer and Greenwood (1980) considered these interviews to be as a "respondent observation, which they defined as any procedure by which the analyst elicits the observations of persons who have direct knowledge of the phenomenon under study" (p. 221). Today, it is an important approach to analyzing data in a nonnumerical way as the advantages according to Berg (1989; 1998) include: a means to study a process which occurs over a long period of time; an effective procedure in assessing events when public records exist; and a helpful approach in analyzing exploratory or descriptive studies. In view of these strengths, the methods seem appropriate for the study.

The focus of the study's analysis is within traditional policy studies which considers general implementation problems and discussions of competing social problems (Cornbleth and Waugh, 1993 cited by Scheurich, 1994). Analytic discussions focus on the pragmatic mode of policy argument that is on the goals, intentions, values, desires and expectations of actors, i.e., policy stakeholders and the women and girls. In this chapter, the views of the policy makers and the perceptions of the Fulbe in the camps concerning the impact of the Nomadic Educational Policy on the socio-economic development of women and girls are provided within traditional policy analysis.

Expectations of the Nomadic Education Policy

Mayer and Greenwood refer to policy makers as "decision makers empowered to make policy or adopt plans on behalf of a collective as well as political actors or agents of the polity" (p. 36). Fischer (1980 cited by Godonoo, 1991) described them as "political actors, they may be individuals, elected leaders, administrators of government agencies, political parties' opinion leaders, business leaders and so on." (p. 17). In this study, the policy makers included not only political actors but also educationists, employees (civil servants) of the government, and interest groups directly or indirectly connected to the nomadic Fulbe. In all, ten people were interviewed. These policy makers/stakeholders are accepted by the leadership of the grazing camps and are unofficially recognized as "trustees" of government development policies like that of education. Worth (1988:3 cited by Simpkins, 1988) commented that

> They undertake tasks of promoting the policy projects through various channels of personal consultations and general publicity, play a political role in bargaining when competing interests attempt to have their views on policy prevail and in negotiation, when policy intentions may or may not be in "harmony with the mood of times" because of a particular economic, political or social climate. (p.11)

The policy makers in this study served as agency of coordination within the educational system by maintaining management contacts with those working out the policy at various levels. They confirmed their status of association with the Fulbe. According to the past executive chairman of the commission, whose dissertation is the foundation of the nomadic education Blueprint Policy (1989),

> Although I am not biologically a Fulbe, I consider myself a Fulbe through my interest and long association with the moving and semi sedentary Fulbe as far back as the early 1970s. My friendship and constant rapport with them exposed me to their culture and traditions, which established an effective communication level. I frequently visited and lived with them in the *ruga* (encampment). I utilized this advantage, and became friendly to the men with whom I started unofficial literacy classes basically on reading and writing.

His understanding of the culture and long association with the nomadic Fulbe provided his acceptance by the people. Long association with them resulted in trust and confidence, which created more opportunities for managing their educational matters regardless of gender. As the former executive secretary reiterated,

> My success in starting the literacy classes for the men gave me acceptance, acknowledgement and encouragement by the male nomads to start literacy classes for their women.

Additionally, a female educationist and one of the early pioneers of female nomadic education in the middle belt area of the country affirmed that

> As an educationist in all levels of education, I worked amongst the Fulbe by living with and frequently visiting them. Through this I learnt their cultures and tradition and gradually earned their trust and confidence. It took me many years as a non-Fulbe to become part of them especially amongst the women and girls. In addition, my husband's role as the executive governor of the state, enabled the extension of my women's policies to the development of nomadic women, for my long time contact with the Fulbe had increased my commitment to the education of the nomads. My achieved and ascribed status influenced the starting of the radio education program and the first state nomadic primary school in the entire country.

The influence of other policy makers like the former minister of education and the incumbent executive secretary cannot be overemphasized. They are members of the Fulbe ethnic group whose commitment to the policy implementation is reflected in the growth and development of the people. As one of them commented, "our people have long been ignored, those of us with the opportunity to assist them in all ramifications will and must do that to ensure that they are not left out in participating in any government policies, most importantly that of education." In addition, the former minister of education commented, "ignorance has eaten deep into the fabric of the pastoral nomads; it is only through education that they will become enlightened" (Nomadic Education News, 1998:9).

Empowerment

The research questions posed to the policy makers were based on the expectations and assessment of the policy makers with reference to the policy implementation outcomes. The various policy makers had similar expectations of the policy's influence on women and girls. In different interviews most policy makers emphasized empowerment. They supported the agencies they represented (i.e. federal government), hence, their responses reflected the content of the official government document, the Blue Print of the policy for the education of women and girls. The incumbent secretary commented,

> I expect the policy to provide empowerment to our women. Most nomadic women are not empowered compared to other ethnic women in Nigeria. I believe through the adult education program they will be empowered in their social and economic activities and improve their living conditions and general life style to the benefit of themselves, families and the community in general.

Not only are nomadic ethnic women less empowered, when compared to other women globally, all women in Nigeria are also affected. Public commentators on the role of women in Nigeria have suggested that the Gender Empowerment Index (GEI) is very low and needs a faster mobility. Citing Regal's (1996) study, an international expert on the empowerment index commented that "Nigerian women mark lowest on the human development indicators, on the women empowerment indicator set by UNDP" (Yesufu, 2000:24).

Economic empowerment. In his narrative of his personal efforts for the nomadic Fulbe women literacy program which he organized, the executive secretary added,

> I started an all women literacy classes at Wawa-Zange (Gombe State) in 1982/1983. My expectation of the literacy classes for the women as of that time was purely focused on economic empowerment, specifically as the curricula focused more on enterprise management, and Math on measuring units. It was focused to acquaint women with the modern means of market measurement. This to me was a way of preventing people from taking undue advantage of them as well as to make them familiar with the changed metric system at that time.

The policy maker identified the educational priority and immediate needs of the women at that time, which he believed, would assist them in their marketing operations both outside and inside their households and communities. He reiterated that empowerment was one of his highest expectations. He commented further,

> Economic empowerment to me paves the way to other branches of empowerment, i.e., and social, psychological and political. In our competitive society, if you control the means of production capital, and are economically sustainable, you will definitely be listened to and be heard by the society. If the Fulbe women are economically empowered they will by all means be a cooperating force to reckon with especially at the local government level in their primary role as managers of dairy cottage industries.

Literacy as a primary contribution to economic empowerment for women has been supported in the literature. Stromquist (1996; 1998) saw economic empowerment as ensuring financial autonomy and the wider participation of women in the market economy. Monkman (1998) sees it as "the ability to earn and control economic resources. Independence in controlling economic resources opens more options for addressing ones interests often serves to improve one's interest, and often serves to improve ones status in the social setting" (p. 449). Many feminist scholars on education for economic empowerment in developing countries suggest it should be incremental as well as bring holistic changes that will transform them, enhance their productivity and help them address more productive concerns. According to the present secretary of the nomadic commission on women's literacy and economic empowerment, "we expected the long term objective as stated in the action plan 1996-2000 will help them acquire knowledge and skills that will help them improve their income earning capabilities."

Various writers suggest productive skills and knowledge should be the focus of training, and that education should be related to women's position as workers, and enhance their ability to generate income within their dominant informal sector (Hausmman, 1998; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994). Additionally, according to the executive secretary of the commission, literacy for economic empowerment is "to improve the quality of production of milk and other dairy products through effective soft technology". Virtually all the policy makers and African writers on nomadic issues and development support this idea. Salih, (1990, cited by Tahir, 1998) writing on nomadic education and national development recommended "technological change and the introduction of new inputs for milking; specialization and diversification through the adoption of modern production and management techniques in dairy, milk and so on" (p. 21). Through the extension service of the commission, the modern technique of milking has been introduced to the women and girls in various centres of the women's cooperating societies. The past executive secretary commented on the shortcomings of the project:

> During my tenure, I had just discovered a milk and butter-churning machine invented by the Institute for Agricultural Research, Ahmadu Bello University, and Zaria. Just when I was making moves to ensure its purchase for the rotational use of nomadic women, my tenure ended. Even now I don't think the machine is available for the women.

Commenting on the availability of the machine for the use of women and girls, the incumbent executive secretary explained that "lack of money is the cause of the machine not being purchased; my financial proposal was not honored for the fact that there is no money."

From my experience, such an excuse would not have been accepted if it were male Fulbe seeking similar technology that might enhance their animal husbandry skill. As noted by feminist writers about women in south countries and economic productivity, most multilateral organizations and development experts have a misconception that agricultural technologies taught to men as heads of households enable the women to naturally benefit from it, rather than giving or directly dealing with the women (Boserup, 1970; Gutrufelli, 1983). Women are often discriminated against; even when modern technologies are installed for rural women's use in local government headquarters, officials have demonstrated lack of follow up services after the introduction of the new technologies (Akande and Awosika, 1994 cited by Okojie, 1996).

In her position as a first lady deliberating on policy issues that affected the social well being of women, she commented on the effect of functional literacy for the nomadic women:

> Fulani women have from time immemorial engaged in trading or sales of dairy products all over rural and urban market areas. They know and operate the language of money. It is my expectation that the nomadic education program should enlighten them more on issues of other income generating activities as well as revive the old inherited skills that allow them to generate income such as lid making and raffia mat weaving. These products, through their cooperating associations, will market more to the tourists as well as boost tourism, since Plateau State is a state of tourism.

She also mentioned that it was her expectation that through the literacy program nomadic women like other women in the state should be knowledgeable about modern credit facilities, and have the ability to acquire loans to support their income generating activities. She commented that

> The nomadic women of Mazat Rop in 1998 were able to acquire loans from the state branches of Peoples Bank and the Family Economic Advancement Program in Plateau State. Most of the women used the loans to expand their animal stock of goats and chicken; others used it for farming vegetables like tomatoes.

Regardless of the achievements of the nomadic women in acquiring credit facilities as mentioned above by the first lady, historically it is evident that the nomadic women have been "shut out" from such facilities due to their low literacy level as well as lack of strong cooperating societies. Of the 2000 branches of the mobile Peoples Bank (modeled on the

Grameen Bank of Bangladesh) in 1993 which aimed at bringing banking to the doorstep of rural women, Fulbe nomadic women were the least beneficiaries. Prior government subsidized financial programs like the Community Banks established in Nigeria in December 1992 with 40 branches were never utilized by the nomadic women. They did not benefit from the facilities partly because of inadequate information low literacy levels, unpopular cooperative groups, as well as lack of the participation of their men as "forward male" figures. In situations like these, women must be supported by their spouses. Other reasons included banks' inaccessibility to the grazing camps and rough roads, as well as the politicization of the operational process. Bullock (1994) observed

> Lack of collateral (land or livestock) required to guarantee loans, and in part their exclusion from male oriented information networks and extensions services. Women's potential productivity and ability to repay loans are frequently underestimated or even ridiculed. Although their participation in the schemes to which they have been admitted shows a better record of repayment than the men. (p. 47)

Because of their low literacy level many of the women cannot access their turnover. Cutrufelli (1983) stated

> Many of these women have no schooling and are therefore unable to access their turn over. Fearing tax control, they prefer not to keep a detailed account of their businesses but rather go by estimation based on common sense. In this way they make their management easier, they keep their concerns going only by virtue of their specialized business usually confined to one kind of good. (p. 99)

Training in productive activities like credit facilities that will enable them generate income in the public sector is commendable. As entrepreneurs, training must link with business skills, marketing quality control, pricing and the like (Akande, 1991 cited by Okojie 1996; Monkman, 1998; Stromquist, 1998). Training acknowledges the barriers women experience, which limits their activities, and seeks to overcome these barriers.

Social empowerment. Another area of expectation of the policy makers was social empowerment. As a famous female politician of the *Jammaiyyar Matan Arewa* commented,

> We expect that the literacy programs to the nomadic women will empower them to better choices and decision making on issues of heath such as reproduction and general family health, following their life style in a rural set up. Our association through our local government branches often send members such as teachers and nurses to sensitize them in these areas, educating them on the merits of access to modern health facilities as their rights for sustainable living.

Social empowerment is an index of women's development identified by Stromquist (1991; 1994; 1998) as a psychological component that involves the development of awareness in women to play an active role in the improvement of their status at the family and societal level. Empowerment in this context is not only an individual process but depends on collective action. As commented by the existing secretary of the commission,

> We in the commission, through the department of extension services under the leadership of the head of female adult education programs encourage, and mobilize women involved in the literacy classes to form cooperative groups that will assist them take decisions as a group or a pressure group for social and

> economic issues. In these coops, they engage themselves in collective action with regard to themselves or their families or the community at large.

However, I noted that despite the Fulbe women mobilized as groups in such associations, the ultimate decision making was guided by the responses of their spouses who were in consultation with the Ardo. This influence is linked to their religious and cultural allegiance or respect for their spouses even in issues of civic obedience. This was also remarked by the former executive secretary of the commission, who cautioned that

> Social empowerment of Fulbe nomadic women must be within the ramifications of the Fulbe cultural tenets. It should be guided with their practices of gender needs and aspiration. Failure to do this might hamper the decision makers of the various grazing camps and cause them to misinterpret the entire educational implementation programs which might be visited with resentment.

The former first lady of Plateau State commented on the literacy program to empower women concerning their health and that of their families.

> The living health condition of most of these nomadic women in their *rugas* is not adequate. Most of the women cannot administer drugs to their infants because they cannot read the administrative procedures of the medicine. This leads to errors that may cause lost of lives. On maternal health, i.e. pregnancies, most of them do not attend pre-natal medical and post-natal sessions and the majority of them especially the girl-child succumb to fatal medical hazards like VVF disease and Gishiri cut [severe laceration of the vulva] amongst others. For the children, they are seldom immunized and are affected by the child killer diseases such as polio. I expect the literacy programs to make women aware of these and change

> their perception of modern medicine to better enhance their lives and that of their families.

In another observation, Iro (1996) a researcher in nomadism and sedentarization in Nigeria noted that

> State operators devote many resources to developing the livestock capital to the detriment of the human capital. For example, the government spends more money to vaccinate the cattle than immunize the children of the Fulani. In budgeting and planning for the Fulani the planners always make a case for the livestock being a major national resource.

In addition, a Fulbe leader *Ardo* commented that "government's attention to our cattle is good but more attention should also be given to improving our livelihood, our families and communities through the provision of social amenities."

Recently, developmental programs meant to empower rural women in Nigeria have tended to marginalize nomadic Fulbe women. The first lady observed that the Poverty Alleviation Program (PAP) had not been extended to the nomadic women. In another observation, a female politician Ugwu (2000) added, "Most pet projects of first ladies as far as I am concerned, are charity works in this country. Their developmental projects should emphasize empowerment of women, as well as emancipation of women" (p. 26).

Extent of Implementation

The policy makers were asked what they thought of the present extent of implementation of the policy. A female professor and coordinator of the University of Jos research department on women in nomadic education programs commented,

> The women cannot react independently; this is because their reactions are teleguided by their spouse's reaction. The Fulbe concept of Pulaaku controls their public reaction to public issues as a group. The men's comments and reactions represent the comments of the women on many occasions except you have to go very, very close and deep with a few of the women in confidence before you can get their reactions on the program.

The above comment was supported at my participation at an organized three (3) day UNICEF workshop for nomadic teenage mothers at Jangore, Lau Local Government of Taraba State. The workshop was to educate them on immunization, complementary feeding, and breast-feeding. At the time of the workshop which was held at the primary school building, the North East Zone of the nomadic commission also hosted a workshop for the male nomads on issues of literacy primers and extension services on cattle. On the second day of the workshop the female participants were very unreceptive and attendance by the women dropped by 50%. On the third day, which was the closing day of the workshop, the women for the first time demonstrated their displeasure of the entire exercise. I inquired about the source of their dissatisfaction, and one of the participants commented,

> We are disappointed at the conduct or general management of this workshop. It is not like the workshop of our husbands. They were given a feeding allowance of 100 Naira (80 cents) a day for three days. They [their husbands] informed us we would be paid the same amount. Based on this information we left our income generating activities to attend the workshop as well as get extra income from the feeding fee allowance. To our surprise, we were only paid 60 Naira at the end of the third day of the workshop and handed some posters as reminders of the workshop. Our time has been wasted and our income generating activities for the past three days have suffered. It is not fair on us.

In my observation, the women are subservient to their husbands regarding decision making issues and concerning developmental programs. Their reactions to the workshop was marked when they dumped the posters given to them nearby in the bush as they chatted with their spouses who spoke in high and angry tones, reacting to the 'unfair' treatment of their wives to the remuneration of the workshop.

Some of the administrators of the state zonal offices of the commission mentioned that the rigidity of the nomadic culture inhibits them from obtaining first hand, directly through discussion with the women and girls, information about their perceptions of the implementation of the policy. Most of the administrators are men, and they are not supposed to communicate directly with women and girls except through their spouses or Ardo or the female staff in charge of education programs. They relied on information from the female officer in charge of literacy programs in the various learning centres and primary schools. One of the officers at the Bauchi zonal office commented,

> The women are interested in learning, but complained about inconsistency of the delivery system especially the face-to-face learning. They mentioned that teachers [mostly male] are not regular in attendance and complained about how they sometimes miss some of the radio education broadcasts especially when they travel out of the camps on social activities such as marriage or naming ceremonies, which usually takes days and even weeks. The women feel that if the commission takes proper disciplinary measures on the absenteeism of their teachers they will be committed to their jobs. They also feel that radio education delivery should come with series of audiocassettes, which they can afford to buy. This will enable them to have continuity of lesson programs.

The women expressed similar concerns to me during the focus group and observation sessions in most grazing camps. The Nigerian Stakeholders Consultative Forum maiden meeting in Abuja, Nigeria held on October, 2000 with about 400 participants drawn from various groups including representative of MACABAN, identified fourteen major problems associated with the management of education. Oladesu (2001) noted "indiscipline of teachers; inadequate distribution of teachers to rural areas; and deficiency in educational monitoring and evaluation procedures by inspectorates of education departments." (p. 9)

Policy makers and administrators' reactions in discussing the actual implementation practices of the policy noted the interference of other policies on education at the federal level. A past executive secretary observed that,

> Political instability of the nation's governance is a major deterrent to policy implementation continuity of the nomadic programs. Every new government

> wants to be associated with innovative educational programs. Hence, they appoint unqualified officers as political experts to handle such programs. Also frequent changes to the management staff running the nomadic policies at state and local government through political appointments did not allow for proper implementation and assessment of the programs. The weaknesses and strength of the programs cannot be identified.

The politicking of education in Nigeria is characterized by changes of educational administrators to the detriment of policy survival and progress. In another observation, the incumbent secretary of the commission added,

> Recently, the present democratic government which has been involved in a review of the present educational system, established the Ahmed Joda Commission. The outcome of the commission's recommendation suggested the merger or scrapping of the nomadic program under the special education unit as a department. In doing so we foresee the collapse of nomadic programs on financial cuts and bureaucratic delays as a result of protocols on financial allocations for running the program. The government also in the new Universal Basic Education Policy will weaken the implementation of other policies like that of the nomadic education.

This argument was supported by the nations' Stakeholders Consultative Forum communiqué on the state of education in the country where Oladesu (2001) stated, "there is a huge gap between intended and implementation of the National Policy on Education and the Universal Basic Education Policies currently" (p.9).

Policy Outcomes

I also engaged policy makers concerning their reactions to the policy outcomes. Those who were government agents all responded with positive support for the agency they represented. In his observation, the incumbent secretary reiterated,

> So far the outcome has been good or encouraging. I suppose most of the objectives of the policy are achieved with very few nearly achieved. Especially, the issue of sensitization of nomads, their appreciation of the benefits of female education is half achieved. If you visit most camps, women and girls are ready and are very enthusiastic about learning. The issue of empowerment has greatly been achieved. This is evident in women's participation and commitment on issues like immunization and family health related programs. This was demonstrated when I visited Niger State for the commissioning of the Immunization Program amongst the nomads; Before my arrival, mothers had assembled hours ahead of the official time. The standard of hygiene and general sanitation of some of the *rugas* I visited has changed as compared to the old rugas. Women now are highly conscious of their drinking water, purifying and preserving, and the general cleanliness of households regardless of their domestic chores and income generating tasks. To me I think, the outcome of the policy has been positive and encouraging.

In another dimension, the head of female adult education programs at the commission headquarters added that

> The new income generating skills taught to these women such as pomade making, modern milking and dairy production, has economically increased their quality of products as well as expanded the scope of income generating skills. In Kawo

> markets, you can find products of the women even labeled and sold to consumers.
>
> I feel the literacy program has tremendously economically empowered the women.

The majority of the policy makers and administrators in charge of the management and implementation of the policy spoke positively about implementation and the outcomes of the program. I questioned the aide of the Department for International Development of the British government on nomadic education in Taraba and Adamawa states. In response to my inquiry posed to one of the policy makers, he remarked

> DIFD's practical involvement in the implementation of the nomadic education in these states is viewed differently by me. I believe it is DFID's policy to Third World countries to assist in developing minority-educated group such as the (Fulbe). I also see their involvement as an evaluation of the inefficiency of the federal government's implementation exercise of the program to the nomads. As you have seen it for yourself as a researcher, they took over curricula issues producing reading texts and materials for primary 1 to 4. They also became involved with classroom construction, distribution of desks and benches, as well as the re-training of teachers as Adult Literacy instructors in the College of Education at Yola, training them on more activity based learning.

Discussion with one of the project managers of the DFID disclosed their disappointment at discovering the weak stage of the policy implementation growth in comparison to the years when it initially began. According to one of the expatriate officers, it indicates a lack of effective commitment and dedication of the government on implementation. Another commented, " we were surprised that even the texts were not fully developed, we had to collect the curriculum and develop some of the text materials. These materials were lying dormant not utilized by the commission for the benefit of the nomads."

It is significant to note that, despite financial constraints faced by the administrators, they neglected other areas of concerns including lack of evaluation and monitoring of teachers and learners' participation in the programs. As one community leader of a grazing camp Ardo commented, "we in this camp have never seen the executive chairman of the commission, we learnt he is a Fulbe like us. If only he can visit us, he will hear from us directly our concerns and will take prompt action." The comments of this leader can rightly be generalized as the perception of the nomads on the management of the commission.

The Relevance of the Nomadic Education Policy

The analysis focused also on the relevance of the policy to the recipients. It centered on issues of curriculum, on the delivery system or pedagogy and the language of instruction, as well as the role of teachers.

Curriculum

Women and girls' opinions of the relevance of the curriculum to their needs were mostly positive. Girls interviewed in the various focus groups were those attending primary schools between ages 4 to 14 as well as dropouts and graduates from primary schools resident in the camps. They all appreciated the curricular content taught in schools. Many preferred subjects like Mathematics, Home Management, Animal Science and English and Islamic Studies. A primary four girl, provided her support for Mathematics: "I like math more than the other subjects, it assists me when I go to sell in the markets or on the streets in issuing monetary change to customers." In another comment, another added, "people think because we are young we will not know the exchange system and they sometimes try to cheat us, but with my understanding of math I am more aware of how to issue change to customers." The learning of Math has provided them with monetary and marketing skills thereby empowering them economically. Most women made reference to Home Management. One noted,

> Home management is easier for me to score marks. Most of what is taught to us is what we do at home. They also teach us how to keep our surrounding clean, nutrition, and how to balance the diet, as well as how to practice good hygiene on drinking water we fetch from the wells and stream. I like this subject because parts of what we learn are already taught to us by our mothers and grandmothers at home.

Their response indicated their acceptance of the extension of domestic role functions taught formally. Additionally, they all supported Islamic Studies learning in schools and literacy centres. The religious values support the responses by their communities on religion. One young woman added,

> We like Islamic studies, we have been and are still learning it after school in the evenings with our moddibbo/mallam. Most times when we return home from school our parents often ask what we were taught in school; they particularly ask us about Islamic studies.

On the other hand, women attending literacy classes appreciated further health and dairy processing management subjects. They considered these subjects as areas that reflect their daily living. Having inherited the indigenous knowledge on dairy management, the modern knowledge taught to them is considered an enrichment of knowledge. A leader of one of the women's cooperating associations, commented,

> Most of our dairy management skills that we inherited have very little knowledge of prolonged preservation as well as general sanitation during processing. With the workshops and lessons we learnt modern methods of churning butter and milk filtration as well as using plastic bags to preserve and package milk and yogurt products for customers in urban centres.

The teachers had different perceptions of the curriculum. They all admitted to being more knowledgeable of the conventional national primary school curriculum than the nomadic curriculum. One commented, "Most teachers don't have the nomadic complete teacher's guide syllabus. Very few schools have them and we do not understand it well enough to teach it. We need more copies of the curriculum as well as workshops to educate us more." The lack of teacher's guides in some subjects was confirmed at a meeting of the Academic and Professional Committee (A&PC) of the Nomadic Commission, October 24, 2000 where I was in attendance. The report of the director of the nomadic education center at Usmanu Dan Fodio University, Sokoto in charge of curriculum development stated that "From April 2000 to August 2000 the centre was engaged in the first phase of the development of teachers' guides in four subjects, namely English, Mathematics, Social Studies, and Science. The centre now awaits the release of funds to host another development workshop for the remaining Draft Teachers' Guides for Fulfulde, Islamic Religious Knowledge, Health Education and Handicraft" (p.1).

The director's remarks confirmed that teachers are still not equipped with the nomadic teacher's guides. In the same meeting, a 1998/99 report distributed to the members on the findings of visits to nomadic schools, orientations, workshops and monitoring stated that

> Reports have consistently shown that teachers in nomadic schools neither have copies of the curriculum for nomadic schools nor the schemes of work based on such curricula. This notwithstanding the efforts made to distribute copies of the curricula in 1992. When teachers are asked what topics they teach their pupils, they typically say they copy some of the topics of the national core curriculum from neighboring schools. It was not therefore surprising that teachers in nomadic schools don't have the schemes of work based on the curriculum for nomadic schools. This situation is unsatisfactory and has been hindering the realization of the objectives of Nomadic Education. It has to be addressed. (p.2)

Most teachers use the conventional teachers' guides of the National Policy on Education for primary schools. The impact of this laxity and lack of facilitation of materials by the commission was arrested through the intervening policy of the Department for International Development of the British government. In 1998, DFID funded and produced the text materials for primary schools. They include *Deftere Fulfulde Piraamari (Yebre Tatabre); Andal Kimiyya Piraamari (Yebre Didabre); and Deftere Fulfulde Piraamari (Yebre Arandeere).*

Pedagogy

In terms of teaching methods, from my observation, teachers used the interactive lecture and group methods. This was attributed to the large classes which numbered between 30 and 45 students to a teacher in the conventional classroom while the rural unstructured classes had between 20 and 30 students. In the absence of a teacher, no substitute teachers were available in any of the nomadic primary schools; instead the "brilliant" boys in the classes were instructed by the class teacher or the principal to lead a review of instruction with the whole class. I inquired as to why girls were not appointed to such roles and a class teacher and principal of one of the schools commented,

> The boys are smarter and bolder than the girls. It is true some girls are definitely brilliant but are very shy to stand in front of the class to lead instruction. This is associated with their cultural upbringing, pulaaku, which our people instill in girls from the beginning of their growing years to adulthood.

Apparently, teachers also marginalize girls under the disguise of culture, and hence perpetuate gender differentiation of sex roles even in their approach to pedagogy in the classroom.

Girls in all the primary schools observed and interviewed admitted that the group skill approach by teachers was the most favored. In my observation of some classes, girls are often put together in working groups especially in the lower classes. They worked cooperatively, especially when confronted with given tasks as they display group cohesion and team spirit. One commented, "we like being together because even after school we play together, go for our domestic chores of fetching water and firewood together, as well as do our school home work and Quranic school work together." The separate grouping of girls by teachers gives them some comfort, independence and more understanding of each other. Furthermore, the method promotes the traditional socialization process by their gender. However, in the higher primary classes, I observed that while teachers mixed boys and girls in groups for academic tasks, in such groups the boys dominated discussions and naturally assumed group leadership. This was attributed to the fact that teachers have not integrated all sexes together from the beginning in the lower classes, for the purpose of complying with the socialization process of the nomads, hence, the girls in higher classes involved in group activities find it difficult to integrate with the boys.

I observed that girls in higher classes felt uncomfortable with such a pedagogical approach. The effect of their discomfort forced some of them to either remain passive in the group or constantly excuse themselves to the washroom, while others absconded completely from the group activity and left the school for the day. The result of their decision affected their participation and regular class attendance as well as slowed down and disrupted their learning focus and continuity.

Language of Instruction

With regard to the use of the Fulfulde language as the medium of instruction as stipulated in the policy BluePrint, I observed that some camps have lost the use of the Fulfulde dialect, especially among the youth, which includes girls and teenage mothers as my study participants. Hence, women and girls whose grazing camps have lost the use of Fulfulde as lingua franca saw no use for it as medium of instruction. The leader of the women's literacy class in one of the camps commented, "all of us speak Hausa here in this community, only the very aged speak Fulfulde, hence instructions take place only in Hausa and English." In some of the primary schools Fulfulde is taught to them as a subject while in others they were not taught Fulfulde at all. In my inquiry to the principals they partly linked it to the unavailability of Fulfulde teachers; most teachers are non-Fulbe speakers and can neither read, write nor interpret the Fulfulde text materials let alone teach the students. Younger women attending literacy classes made significant preference for the use of the English language as a medium of instruction and as a subject. One added

> I feel the knowledge of the English language will assist us in communicating with people of other cultures in the urban areas when we visit or go marketing. It will assist us to read notices in public places. Example, there might be notices of danger, and if you cannot read such notices one can easily be in danger by trespassing. For us to fit in more into the larger society we prefer English.

In another narrative one woman added, "we prefer English because when we get to places like hospitals and are given drugs whose administration is written in English, if we cannot read the instruction it becomes a problem to us." Girls in the primary schools interviewed supported the use of English language, one commenting,

> We prefer English as the medium of instruction because when we visit the markets to sell our dairy products we will be able to communicate with customers who are non speaking Fulbe and Hausa. Also when we proceed to government public secondary schools, there English is spoken most of the time.

Even though the use of a modern language is demanded by the females for personal enhancement it was observed that in the reformed camps the men prefer the women speak Arabic as learnt from religious studies rather than English. The preference is another exertion of their patriarchy on the women and girls under the cover of Islamic culture.

The Teachers

Both women and girls confirmed their preference for female rather than male teachers in all the camps. Their reason for the choice was basically gender prejudice; other reasons included some religious and interpersonal preferences for female teachers. They saw the benefits of a female teacher as socially prudent as well as deviating "suspicions by our spouses and parents to sexual overtures that might likely occur with male teachers". One of the women leaders added, " with male teachers we are limited to express ourselves and ask questions for fear of embarrassing him. Sometimes in our classes the teacher's wife or wives will be present and we may not want to also embarrass their husband." She also mentioned,

> Most husbands don't feel comfortable with the male teachers as we gather from their remarks. Also a female teacher, understands us better because we belong to the same sex, we also are able to ask her any questions for better understanding without her getting embarrassed or upset. For example in health science, issues regarding parts of the body, menstrual cycle, childbirth and family care. We cannot ask a male teacher such issues; we do not feel safe asking him because he might form an opinion on whoever asks such questions. Also we do not trust him; he may share our concerns with his male counterparts in the camp which may be spread around to the hearing of our husbands and that may affect our marriage relationship.

With the girls in primary schools, most of them agreed that they felt "safe" with female rather than male teachers in and outside the class. One commented," when a female teacher is our mistress, she supports us all the time especially in quarrels between the boys and us. She also encourages us in our class activities and gives us advice from time to time, encouraging us to become like her. I want to be a teacher or a nurse." Apparently, both women and girls preferred female teachers in directing instruction. They found them to be significant others, confidants, and role model figures which motivated them to learning and continuous attendance as well as encouraged their classroom participation.

The Implementation of the Nomadic Education Policy

The implementation strategy adopted by the commission is subject to the accessibility and participation, flexibility, and mobility of literacy centres and schools for the women and girls. My observations of the grazing camps suggest that types of physical structures that can withstand the environmental conditions determine the continual attendance of girls and boys in schools. Schools assisted and taken over (members of the local community constructed majority of the school buildings) by the commission are inadequate and are not in very good condition. Significantly, four had no structures at all: in Yobe Fulbe, (FCT area) Nyamuru and Wuro Hamza (Bauchi state) and Fulbe Paiko in (Niger State). In a focus group interview with some of the girls from one of the camps, they commented thus: "It is usually cold when we come to school in the morning. We gather under the tree, which blows its leaves on us. When it is threatening to rain, classes are dismissed for the day." Lack of good structures inhibit their regular attendance to school.

Additionally, in some grazing camps like Wuro Hamza (Bauchi State) the nomadic primary school is a distance from the camp. This is because the conventional primary school is also used for the nomadic children. This affects the attendance and participation of the girls as one commented; "the LEA school is far from our place.

Sometimes by the time we arrive at the school it will be the second period. In case of rain we have to hide under trees and wait for it to stop, sometimes we return home for the day." The use of conventional primary schools distant from the grazing nomadic camps has negative effects on the frequency of attendance and participation of girls. For the itinerant nomadic communities like Nyamuru, the mobile collapsible schools earlier introduced for these communities are no more in use. Upon inquiry from the Ardo or community head, he added

> It is a cultural thing. We keep our movement secret even from the teachers who manage our children's education. Hence by the time we move we leave the collapsible school behind. It is the responsibility of the visiting teachers to remove the building's major parts and to keep them in their custody until we are found. However they do not do that. We suspect that neighboring non-Fulbe tribes often steal the materials when we leave, if the teachers do not arrive on time to take them away.

In another comment, the Ardo of Nyamuru added, "I split my community by migrating for better grazing areas. I often instructed my subjects to take along the parts of the mobile collapsible school parts that was subsequently provided to us as we never had any structures. But the problem is we do not have the tools to fix them in the temporary camp. We have to wait until teachers and the local government personnel arrive." The waiting period is an excuse for the women and girls non attendance of classes, which is condoned by the community head as they proceed to market centres to hawk dairy products.

The lack of follow up, i.e., supervision, by the personnel in charge of the nomadic schools in these areas would seem to have contributed to the non use of mobile collapsible types of primary schools. Apparently, the attitude of some local government education officers in charge of nomadic schools also affected the disappearance of equipment used in the construction of some collapsible school tents. From my inquiries to a few education officers they admitted that some of the equipment was stolen from the headquarters, while some became damaged as a result of harsh weather as they are either rusted or rotted or were attacked by rodents.

The bad terrain and distance of nomadic schools and some literacy centres for the girls and women also affected the commitment and attendance of the teachers. The interior grazing camp routes are very poor, with feeder roads often constructed by the efforts of the nomads. Some grazing camps I visited had big rivers with no bridges but logs and stones serving as 'bridges', which inhibited or slowed the movement of goods and people such as teachers and health workers to the camps. Such environmental hazards definitely are contributory factors that affect most of the teachers. Where the roads are relatively good, teachers coming from sub-urban areas to teach in these camps commute with public transport to a terminating point to the camps. The current shortage of gas in the country automatically affects the attendance and punctuality of the teachers to the grazing camps. Simple transportation means like bicycles and scooters are not made available to these teachers like they are to other civil servants in the country.

Women and girls in grazing camps like Nyamuru and Yobe Fulbe admitted that the drought affecting the geographical area of their camps often forced a split of the family members among the heads of households in their relocation to temporary sites. This compelled wives and daughters to move. Their movement often affected the continuity of their learning as they could be away between 4 and 6 months. One woman added,

> Most times we depend on the radio education programs, as well as a few materials we take along with us to review. At times the children in the higher classes will teach the younger ones and the men, our fathers and husbands, continue the teaching of Islamic studies to the children. The girls when they go to suburban centers to sell their dairy products, will try to be in communication with some subjects like English by speaking with non-Fulbe customers in English, many times they are corrected. They come back home feeling very excited and narrate to us their experiences of the day.

Certainly, environmental conditions affect the participation and continuity of learning for the women and girls. From my visit to these camps where the women are willing to learn, the teachers are not available because of either the changes of the weather which has forced the nomads to move or migrate, or environmental conditions like river floods in camps like Fulbe Paiko, or insufficient grazing areas like Numan Fulbe to the south Savannah where most of the land is under sugar plantations of Numan town area. Ideally, as stated in the Blue Print, the local government supervisors are suppose to trace their new location and contact the local government closer to the new camps for teachers to follow up on their programs. From my inquiries and observation, this is never done; most officers that are supposed to be in charge hide under an alibi of insufficient funds to pay as allowance to undertake such tasks, and the officers' "unwillingness" to risk their lives with no remuneration.

All the women and girls interviewed admitted that their 'Fulbeness' of 'pulaaku' culture has affected their participation in the classroom. This was earlier mentioned by the fact that girls in most primary schools are shy to speak in the classroom. In my observation of some lessons, very few raise their hands to respond to the teacher's questions on tasks; even when they know the answers they are shy to speak out. This is partly related to the way they are raised as one teacher added, "Malama [referring to me meaning teacher], you know the way our culture is! Girls are expected to be well mannered by being quiet and well organized in the way they speak, and even the tone of their voice amongst themselves in private, and importantly in public, even in school as there are elders like we teachers."

One of the Ardos commented on the cultural expectations of the girls with regard to their participation in a western educational system

> We are pleased that these girls acquire some formal education, however, whenever a suitor shows up especially for those who have attained the marriageable age [that is between ages 10-13] they are automatically married out, and the schooling decision will be that of the husband and his family. Sometimes the new couple will be away to new camps, which may not have schools at all. We have to comply with our culture as well as our religious duties of protecting the girls by marrying them out to prevent male sexual harassment that may result in sexual assault and sometimes pregnancy, which brings dishonor and shame to the family.

The comments of these traditional rulers is an assertion of patriarchy; in the Fulbe culture, the men either as husbands or fathers are the sole decision makers with regards to accessibility and participation in schooling.

In the case of women, they often have setbacks in their school participation and access from the reaction of their spouses. A woman commented,

> Sometimes when there is a quarrel between husband and wife, he may extend it by banning you from moving anywhere within the camp as a means of getting at you. This may include your inability to attend literacy classes. Culturally, we are not supposed to let others know your conflict with a husband except if it runs out of control. Even when other women or the literacy teachers asks why you have been absent from classes, you have to be smart with an answer that will never expose the real reason.

In addition, the issue of religious obligations based on sex roles is another factor that affects girls' regular class attendance or participation. In some of the schools visited, interviewed girls between ages 10 to 13 asserted that at the time of their menstrual period, religiously termed as 'unclean period,' they were absent from school. As commented by one "most of us choose to remain at home at this time. However, we don't inform our teachers the true reason for our absence; instead we either say we are traveling or have malaria fever. This is because when menstruating one is not supposed to mention it to any one except 'mama' [their mothers]" At this period of their abstinence from school, they miss academic continuity which to some extent affects their progress in comparison to the boys who are in constant attendance.

Furthermore, their sex roles as related to their household duties contribute to their absence from classes. Most times, they are "mothers" in their households as in the absence of their mothers they automatically take over the roles of their mothers in domestic chores like cooking, and taking care of their siblings. One noted,

> Whenever inna [mother] is going for a family visit to our relations outside the camp she may be away for some days, and I do all her work as well as my own original work. In this case I don't go to school for the period she will be away. Instead I take care of the home and make sure my junior ones go to school as well as attend 'makarantar alo' in the evening. I can only attend the 'makarantar alo' meant for women at night when my younger ones go to sleep. I also ask my classmates when they return from 'makarantar boko' what they have been taught, this is to keep in touch with my class program.

The zeal of these girls cannot be underestimated. They are enthusiastic to actively participate but are limited as a result of their family expectations and fulfillment of cultural duties and role expectations.

Outcomes of the Nomadic Education Policy

One outcome of the policy is the measurement of performance of the policy otherwise referred to as the effectiveness of the program on the recipient women and girls. This part focuses on the social and economic empowerment of participants related to the impact of the programs so far.

Social Empowerment of Women and Girls

The issue of social empowerment is often considered as development or mobility through education to better life in all ramifications (Stromquist, 1996; 1998; Hausman, 1999). Fulbe nomadic women indeed acknowledge a change for the better with regard to their participation in literacy programs. From their responses as well as my own observations during my stay in the grazing camps and compared to previous visits, the women were more conscious of issues on health and general hygiene and sanitation of members of their families, and on issues regarding water and pre and post natal issues that affects them in particular. A leader of the women's group in one of the camps commented,

> Our active learning on issues like hygiene, and childcare especially on issues regarding food and nutrition has assisted us in the care of our children and the whole family. In workshops demonstration cooking on food classification and their functions for both adults and children has assisted in many ways. For example, our children between 3 and five years often suffer from 'kwashiorkor' [a child sickness due to inadequate nutrition, often with physical features such as big bellies and lost of hair and general paleness]. Unknown to us we administer herbs, but with the aid of our literacy programs and workshops we were made to understand the causes as well as ways to guard against it by good nutrition and general hygiene. In this community since our participation in the programs we have very few children dying unlike before.

One of the leaders of the Fulbe women cooperating group added,

> Women and girls through the literacy programs are aware of the advantages of clean water and we practice processing and storage of water as taught to us in the

> class as well as in many workshops. We filter our water with a fine white cloth as well as boil all our drinking water and even milk.

Most teenage mothers commended their participation in the literacy classes and workshops. The gains of their participation in improving their healthy lives and that of their children included natural family planning through child spacing instead of the use of the pills, which they consider un-Islamic. One narrated,

> We as Muslim women do not believe and are not supposed to use pills as a means of family planning. The commission invited Planned Parenthood of Nigeria, which organized workshops and taught us the counting methods [Billing Method] of family planning. We now practice child spacing as well as have better relationships with our husbands, who went to the same workshops and this has increased out understanding and led to better relationships with our husbands and children.

Many women especially those from the reformed religious nomadic camps appreciated the new child spacing method. They commended on the participation of their spouses in different but similar workshops, which has greatly improved sexual and social understanding between them. On the other hand, women in the traditional nomadic Fulbe camps also appreciate the Billings method of child spacing. The effect of the workshops have led them away from use of the traditional method of charms, rings and amulets which they commented often failed them as they frequently become pregnant. In the words of one of the teenage mothers, "I now realize that our use of amulets and so on was an act of ignorance; the spirits never come down to control the stomach [womb] but with this method one can physically count the safe periods after the regular menstrual days.

Also the workshops have assisted us in proper hygiene during menstruation. We are used to the traditional rags which we did not wash properly; with their method we are educated in the use of cotton [sanitary pads].

From both traditional and reformed nomadic camps, the native midwives admitted an increase of knowledge on better management of delivery care from the outreach programs organized by UNICEF in conjunction with some selected teaching hospitals like Ahmadu Bello University. A woman added,

> We usually take deliveries of the women the way we were taught by our foremothers. In our method especially on teenage mothers when experiencing prolonged labor, in our imagination it is always on the narrowness of the vagina, so we often apply a cut with the use of a drop of gishiri [table salt]. We have learnt from the literacy outreach the bad part of these, which include VVF on the girls.

According to some camp leaders, they perceived the participation of women in health outreach programs as beneficial in many ways. One of the Ardo stated

> Additional knowledge on modern practice by the [ngwanzoma] local midwives have greatly assisted us men from rushing to the hospital with the teenage women in labor at midnight, as well as decreased the frequency of death of these young girls as a result of ignorant methods that often lead to tragedies such as deaths. We notice and appreciate these *ngwanzoma* management of deliveries which is as a result of what they have learnt.

On issues of effective modern communication, the women admitted that their literacy participation especially in the Interactive Radio Education program has exposed them further to more awareness on social and political issues related to their rights, duties and obligation to civic responsibilities such as participating in voting. One commented,

> Through the literacy program, we were able to read and identify the different candidates and their political programs, assisted us in our decision to vote. Formerly, we only depended on the political campaigns we listened to on the radios and sometimes on the television. Before our participation in the programs, we only vote based on the candidates our husbands identify with; they tell us whom to vote. Things have changed now, they still talked to us on their identified candidates as men, but we only listened to them. On reaching the voting booth, we did what we thought was our personal opinion.

In all the camps the women agreed that their participation in the nomadic educational programs has further strengthen their relationship with their spouses and between wives of the same spouse. In cases where the spouse is violent against the wife or wives with regards to personal domestic misunderstanding which makes such a spouse deny the wife or wives from continuing the program, the teachers (especially female teachers in the reformed camps) intervene by reporting to the community leader, the said household head. He is then reprimanded. The women also admitted that spouses who are interested in their learning often support them and their daughters in purchasing instructional materials when the need arise. They also from time to time inquire about the progress of their learning by comparing it with their own men's literacy programs, and sometimes assist them in homework. A woman added,

> We are two by our husband. Before the introduction of the literacy program to the community, we are always at home and whenever our husband returned from

> rearing, and he is home with us all the time. Often, we step on each other and we noticed his impatience as he yells and shouts on us. But when the literacy program was introduced, our class attendance takes us away from home, as he also attends that of the men. We meet people in the centres and socialize with them throughout, by this we are reducing the tension at home.

The participation of women and girls has no doubt improved gender relation in the various camps. In my overnight stay in one of the camps, I observed in one of the extended compounds, husbands sharing jokes and laughter with their wives and school attending children by speaking and interpreting some household objects like shoes, spoons, and many others in English, as they tease each other.

Economic Empowerment of the Women and Girls

Most women and girls described their gains of the program to their primary economic transactions such as monetary exchange, and knowledge of the measuring units and metric system practiced in the urban areas as they engaged in marketing or general sales of their dairy products. In most of the traditional camps where women are still engaged in the processing and sale of milk and allied products, they told how their lives had been enriched through cleaner and more modern methods of processing their finished products which also reduced their labor. A leader of one of the cooperating associations in one of the traditional camps mentioned

> Apart from proper hygiene practice during processing, such as using the 'bottle' in extracting the milk from the cow rather than our fingers (it makes our work easier) which we were used to as an inherited skill and practice. We presently boil the milk to kill germs and bacteria, which were explained to us in our classes. We

> also use white cloth to clean and filter milk as well as use plastic bags to preserve and prevent flies from falling into the milk as we sell to customers.

With regard to how their participation in the program has assisted them in accessing modern financial facilities, all the women in the traditional camps had no access to such facilities; they still relied on the traditional capital generation scheme of *asusu* and *adashe*. When I inquired as to why they have not enjoyed such opportunities, they all admitted to a lack of direct exposure to such facilities by their spouses as well as the local government women officers in charge of their programs. In all the cases their cooperating associations were not registered. Only through their membership in registered associations could they acquire loans from the agricultural banks like the Peoples Bank or the Community Banks (controlled by the state and federal government, which are often sited at local government headquarters or urban areas very far from the settlement patterns of the nomads). In two out of three of the reformed camps, their cooperating associations were registered and strong. In these camps the women described how their literacy gains have not only exposed them to the financial facilities of loans, but have organized them as an association in the processes of acquiring the loans through filling and following up their application forms themselves. According to them without having been literate, they wouldn't have been able to acquire such loans. Now they could read and interpret the rules and conditions as well as be listened to by the loan officers in the urban centers who were mostly non-Fulbe. A leader of one of the associations *Katul hore*, reiterated,

> After individual consultation with our spouses, we arrived at a united decision as a group supported by the Ardo to pursue an agricultural loan. We selected two

> women; the secretary treasurer and myself. We visited the city's Family Economic Advancement centre and Peoples Bank for agricultural loan forms. Even though the forms were in the English language, we were able to complete them and forwarded the forms to our literacy teacher, which she vetted. Through our literacy participation we had confidence in our selves as we related with the loan officers in the city. Finally we were awarded the loan with limited collateral, which we used as a coop in farming tomatoes that year. Even though it turned out to be a bad experience at the end because the agricultural extension officers did not educate us on risk management of the farming of hybrid tomatoes.

Generally, from the voices of the women and girls quoted the outcome of the nomadic education programs is fair. The economic and social empowerment of women and girls varied from camp to camp. Regardless of the differences, in my observation, I also noticed that the gender relations socially and economically were stronger in the traditional camps than the reformed ones. This is because of their liberal way of living which is indigenous to their culture as against the superimposed strict living of the reformed camps whose Fulbe cultures are altered by the observation of *purdah* on the women especially.

2

In the next chapter, the transformation of the voices of the women and girls, policy makers, teachers and community leaders are analyzed from a feminist perspective using the FAWE (1998) Gender Educational Policy Model. Based on the model's framework, I categorized the data first on the gender issues and then identified related social practices, existing policies, socio-cultural context concerns and then possible options suggested by all participants through their comments. The model data compilation is followed by further discussion.

Chapter 7

FEMINIST POLICY ANALYSIS

Generally, feminist theories have identified different approaches as essentially liberal, Marxist, radical, psychoanalytic, socialist, existentialist, or postmodern. I consider each of them as providing partial answers to the 'woman question(s)' even though they provide unique perspectives within the various methodological strengths and weaknesses. However the most fascinating aspects of these approaches worthy of mention are how their partial and provisional answers intersect, joining together the ways in which women have been oppressed, repressed and suppressed and how they celebrate various ways in which so many women have 'beaten the system', taken charge of their destinies, and encouraged each other to live, love, and be happy as women.

The stratification of women and their daughters in all spheres of life in the Sub-Saharan Africa is linked with customs and traditions of their forefathers who perceived the women as companions of men, and thus continually placed them under the tutelage of their husbands, brothers, uncles and male elders. Despite their historical involvement in the traditional polity as leaders and "militia women" as was the practice in the former Republic of Dahomey now (republic of Benin) in the late eighteen century where women soldiers called the "Amazons" fought gallant wars of conquest on West African frontiers, they were still marginalized in settling war booties and territorial management. McFadden (1997), commented "Africanness of women is defined through a patriarchal norm which defines Africans as male"(p.2). When viewed critically, discrimination of women is ancient as well as orthodox, handed down by our ancestors who adversely affected the social norms and attitudes of the men towards the women.

The facets of colonialism in this part of the continent have also extended further practices of discrimination in all forms on women and girls. Ahmed (1992) mentioned: "during colonial times colonial discourse portrayed women as essentially passive, what was created was a fusion between the issues of women, their oppression and their cultures. Perhaps it must also be said that feminism, or the idea of feminism, served as its other handmaid." (p.154-5). Many colonialists identified and coded the people's cultures (especially in sub-Saharan Africa) as uncivilized, primitive or barbaric by recognizing the patriarchal structures and institutions, which were led or headed by the males. The imperialists envisaged the "woman" question as being related to patriarchy, as a cultural norm of women's submissiveness which should not be disturbed. This historical baggage became a direct continuity of the colonial discourse in educational policies and implementation. The colonialists by choice needed male "manpower" rather than "womenpower" as skilled and semiskilled workers. This led them to the training of men in all learning institutions, to occupy political positions as well as the civil service as clerks, marksmen, catechists, court interpreters, etc. (Ade-Ajayi, 1996 Pitten, 1998). The voices of women were silent. However, in some states, the level of oppression with regard to social and economic participation by the men or the "gate keepers" became intolerant and the women "cried out" through protests that shocked the men and the colonialists and forced them to review some policies. Significant protest worthy of mention in Nigeria was the Aba market women riot of 1929, when women demanded their rights to participate in both labor and economic benefits in the country (specifically with issues on taxation of their commodities). In northern Nigeria, Sarauniyya (Queen) Amina of Zaria (Zazzau) led a battle of conquest that claimed her life in the early 1830s.

The women in Africa generally have been struggling for a just society and trying to overcome cultural blocks as stated by an African feminist, McFadden (1997):

> African women have fought patriarchy and male privilege for centuries, by involving in anticolonial resistance and have crossed boundaries which have constructed politics as a male preserve. Our presence in these movements, our rejection of women's traditional status, was met with resentment and resistance. (p.1)

The men inherited the states at independence and politically continued the colonial principles in conjunction with the class differences based on gender until the mid 1960s, when the United Nations developmental plan for African states became concerned with the education and other issues of women and these became the focus of the policy makers.

Clearly today, feminists are working to redefine the classic ideologies of society and social reforms that includes class, capitalism, communism and the newer scourges of religious fundamentalism, free trade and the mixed economy and the role of women in it. With more complications accruing from the top down policies of the ruling class and the outright exploitation of the world's poorest countries, the burden is becoming more and more complicated for women and their advocates especially in sub-Sahara African countries.

Since becoming aware of my interest in feminist issues, as a young African feminist I have tried to understand the feminist structure, approach and concept in the west but have also looked at the new relationship building between the African feminist and the western feminist. I have observed some differences in the struggle for equality and equity in our modern day society by women from the global south and the global north based on historical dimensions, cultural presentations and the political control of society by the policy makers especially in the orthodox south like Sub-Saharan Africa.

Feminist scholars in this part of the continent have embraced feminism as a critical force for women's transformation to reflect the new locations and agendas and to bring national and global struggles to attention by creating solidarity platforms. McFadden (1997) added, " to interrogate ageism and envision new directions and challenge the privilege and authoritarianism associated with it" (p.5). The process of feminist political discourse in Africa lies with feminist leaders, who are social policy makers in educational sectors, specifically the Forum of African Women Educationist (FAWE). The forum strategizes collectively through policy formulation and implementation for the advancement of women and girls and for their greater accessibility and participation in all levels of education. They recognized and analyzed the causes of women and girls' lack of advancement in education as being driven by a number of factors: poverty, an effective silencing mechanism (Rhanema, 1992); culture and tradition; and recently, myopic religious beliefs (traditional religions as well as extremism in Islamic fundamentalism against Muslim women) (Mernissi, 1996). The central focus of FAWE is placing gender at the heart of all analyses and rebuilding cultural norms and practices that limit the access and participation of girls and women to educational opportunities. It also focuses on policy extension through political redefinition of educational policies towards better social reforms which will bring economic positivism for African women (Brisibe, 2001). Hence, this section utilizes FAWE's educational policy matrix for a feminist analysis of the data in this study.

Data Application of the Gender Educational Policy Model

The FAWE (1998) framework of the GEPM is based on qualitative data analysis. It searches why things happen the way they do as well as examines the processes and mechanisms of how educational issues on disparities and differences affects gender. FAWE (1998) concerns are:

> On enrolments and training, retention rates, portrayals of personalities in program materials and stereotyping, treatment in pedagogical approach, choice of careers and school subjects, opportunities for enrolment and admission, educational facilities and resource materials, benefits of existing policies and practices, staffing of educational institutions. (p.65)

The model's matrix is divided into columns with sub-themes: (a) Gender issues, which identifies disparities based on roles, duties and functions; (b) Related practices, which focuses on issues identified based on sex; (c) Social cultural context, deals with social, economic and political issues relating to the perception of participants on what they consider as relevant to their education within their socio-cultural values; (d) Related existing policy, which links more between data and policy implementation on females in social institutions.

The application of my data to the matrix (Figure 6) is based on the transfer of my generic policy analysis, which was based on the traditional policy model and guided by my research questions on sub-themes of relevance, implementation, expectations and outcomes. The Gender Educational Policy Matrix consist of a five column framework within which each gender issue is examined in terms of related social practices, socio-cultural context, and related existing policies so that suggested policy options can be identified. The issues related to the Nomadic Education Policy are identified first under the relevant policy actors from policy makers to the teachers and curriculum developers and then in terms of the curriculum mandated by the policy. The matrix data analysis is followed by subsequent discussions, which are supported by literature on the entire matrix analysis.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	RELATED EXISTING POLICIES
a) Policy actors (i) policy makers	*Few female heads of departments in the commissions/school boards. * No females in key administrative decision posts.	*Ethnic/religious politics control appointments of female heads in schools/commissions	*Male policy makers are more comfortable working with counterparts in key decision positions (on religious and cultural principles)
	* Expected sex roles control male policy maker's interaction with female learners.	*Norms of culture control communication between female policy makers and heads of communities. * Only female policy makers have face to face interaction with female learners. *Culture and religion control face to face dialogue between female learners and male policy makers.	*Male policy makers seldom visit grazing schools nor community leaders. * Male policy makers have no interaction with the women and girls.
	*Financial management is gender biased.	*Cultural assumptions that women need to be supported by men in financial expenditures regardless of their societal positions or achievements	* Lack of funds limit female administrators' visits and to conduct research on female learners and their concerns. *Insufficient pay to attract female monitoring and evaluation officers.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	RELATED EXISTING POLICIES
(ii) Women and girls (a) Accessibility	*Few girls have access to schooling	*Traditions have a set life pattern for female's adaptation to their society.	* Commissions do not have an organize formal forum with the leaders to encourage dialogue on female access.
	*Males as heads of households decide on choice of sex to schooling	* Parents perceive girls schooling as irrelevant to their up bringing and fulfillment of sex roles	*No incentives are given to male parents or leaders to /encourage girl's enrolment by the government/commission.
	*Girls are enrolled more in Quranic schools	*Culture and religion demands more of moral and Islamic education for girls than conventional schooling.	*Commission does not frequently advertise in the media a on the merits of both types of female education to nomadic listeners.
	*Socio-economic status of families control access of females to schooling.	*Domestic and economic demands on girls control their access to schooling.	*Teachers are limited in the control of class attendance of girls for fear of the community aggression.
	* Location of schools i e., distance, control access of females to schooling.	* Pulaaku cultural practice protects women and girls physically and spiritually. * Purdah system also control movement of women i.e., access to schooling.	*Lack of sufficient physical structures and rural teachers enforce merger of learners to distant conventional schools/learning centers.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	RELATED EXISTING POLICIES
(b) **Participation**	* Girls drop out from school at the beginning or late puberty.	*To fulfill cultural expectation of early marriage.	*Non implementation of by law sanctions on parent offenders of girls withdrawal for marriage
	*Partial school participation is associated with domestic economic demands of girls.	* Females are involved with income generating activities i.e., trading of dairy products and food.	*Girls abscond from school to markets without being reprimanded by teachers and administrators.
	*Temporary drop out as a result of migration.	*Females are obliged to participate in pastoral transhumance as a way of life.	* Continuity of learning is affected by lack of residential and visiting teachers.
	*Women participation is dependent on the relationship with their spouses.	*Purdah observation control women's frequent participation.	
	*Women participation is directed by family economic responsibilities.	*Self-reliance through participation in income generating skills for empowerment.	*Women in literacy classes are dependent on availability of teachers than women's social and economic setting.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	RELATED EXISTING POLICIES
	* Very few female teachers as compared to males.	*Scarcity of female teachers is associated with preference for Muslim female teachers by male heads of households.	* Available employed female teachers are non-Muslims and non-Fulbes. * Employed female teachers are not given incentives like their counterparts to stay on the job.
(iii) Teachers and pedagogy	* Male teacher-female learner classroom interaction is limited.	*Cultural concept of pulaaku control degree of interaction between male and females.	*Employed male teachers are more committed to male adult literacy classes and interact more with them than the females.
	*Pedagogical approach is controlled by gender	* Socialization learning process is based on different gender in Fulbe culture.	*Teachers employ elements of cultural practices in teaching i.e., grouping students by gender.
	*Teacher's classroom management is gender control.	*Males in the nomadic social setting are always in charge as a cultural and religious principle.	
	*School leadership is monopolized by male teachers and boys.	*Girls are raised to be shy which affects their leadership motivation.	*No female students in class leadership.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	RELATED EXISTING POLICIES
(b) Gender and curriculum	*Few female curriculum planners	*Available indigenous educated women culturally are better placed and accepted as teachers than curriculum planners.	*Educated Fulfulde women are invited as resource persons/linguists in curricula issues.
	* Nomadic curriculum has no specification of the needs and aspirations of women and girls	* Curricula demands by male heads of households are religious and cultural bias. *Women's curricula demands on skill learning are dependent on changes in their environment.	* Most teachers do not understand the women literacy primers and the entire nomadic curriculum.
	*Most women are unfamiliar with reading and writing of Fulfulde on the texts.	*Involving women and girls in the pastoral tradition of migration limit their utilization and use of their language	*Fulfulde is taught only as a subject than used for instruction in centres and schools of non speaking Fulbe
(i) Radio education and the curriculum	* It is assumed that women listen to radio less than men in camps.	* Men introduced radio technology to the home. * Women own radios with the consent of their spouses.	* Commission distributed more radios to men than women listening groups. *Commission created more men radio listening groups as compared to men's.
	*Radio programs favor more men programs than women's.	*The concept of a nomad is interpreted as 'he' rather than 'she' in the traditional set up.	*Women radio education subjects are fewer as compared to women's'. *Women programs are less scientific than mens'.

GENDER ISSUES	RELATED SOCIAL PRACTICES	SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES	RELATED EXISTED POLICIES
(ii) Curriculum and instructional materials.	* Most girls do not have the required school uniforms as compared to boys.	* Heads of households in reformed camps demand all females' uniforms in the *hijab* for sex differentiation and moral standard.	* Teachers supervise the uniform appearance of girls than boys. *Girls in reformed camps wear *hijabs* as school uniform.
	* Male parents' low perception on female education restrains the provision of instructional materials.	*Fathers and spouses buy more instructional materials on Islamic education for girls.	*Most girls do not have reading and writing materials *Women buy reading and writing materials for themselves and for their children.
Rural women receive less instructional materials than men from the commission.	*Commission is a distance to rural areas for the women's proximity.	*Men/heads of households do not allow women to visit the commission.	*Men collect materials on behalf of women from the commission.
Curricula workshops.	*More workshops for men than women.	*Public formal gathering of people in nomadic tradition is regarded as mens' affairs.	*Men's workshops are well funded as compared to women's.
Text illustrations are gender biased.	*More girls are often seen reading texts at leisure than boys.	*Fulbe girls are more concern with their images i.e. photographs than boys.	*Fewer female illustrations in text reading materials as compared to boys.

Figure 6. Gender Educational Policy Model (GEMP) based on FAWE Model, 1998.

The transformation of grazing communities wrought by economic, political and religious current changes affected the demands, objectives and participation of nomads, especially the females, in schooling. In four nomadic camps in the study, referred to as traditional camps, changes were associated with modernization, through access and use of modern material culture with symbolic use of soft technologies like lamps, torchlights, radios, and even television. Women used petroleum bi-products such as kerosene instead of animal fats from the cattle for fire making. Nonetheless, they still operated the traditional system where the social life setting of pastoral life and subsistence served as the catalyst for existence. The study findings therefore arrived at the fact that women and girls in the traditional camps are more liberal in their social life. The social demands of educational programs are more for economic enhancement as well as maintaining and progressing in religious education. Other female demands for schooling with regard to curriculum place more emphasis on health empowering subjects.

On the other hand, the other five grazing camps were also affected by modernization and changes to Islamic reformed culture (more to fundamentalism) with a stronger emphasis on patriarchy. The influences of these changes were associated with the northern Nigeria's recent political culture and the reactivated legal system of the *Sharia*. The changes in general living style have had a significant impact on their reception, demands and participation in developmental programs as a people and particularly on educational issues that involve their female members. Their curriculum demands for female schooling centre more on Islamic education and domestic oriented subjects to become pious mothers or wives as instructed in the holy Quran.

Findings of the study revealed that the Islamic religious reformation or fundamentalism has brought in positive modernization to the women and girls. Positive reformative impact includes the increasing enrolment of women and girls in schooling as compared to the traditional camps. This is affected by their proximity to urban areas, and the existence of other ethnic groups living near their grazing camps, which facilitated competition in the pursuit of education/literacy. Despite the control of their movements through purdah system in particular, inhibiting the teenage mothers' involvement in street trading of dairy products, they learn new modernized feminine income generating skills, which broadens their products' participation in the markets along with women of other ethnic tribes. Furthermore, most elderly women after obtaining their literacy certification desire job placement to the services of women in the local government areas if given the consent by their spouses. This was supported by some of the male heads of households interviewed in the affected grazing camps; this I consider a positive gender relation which "bends" or "relaxes" the rigid structures of patriarchy underlining the social structures in those camps.

Regardless, all the camps still maintain patriarchy as a complete social system. Males are the gatekeepers of all social norms and are placed in the upper class of the social structure, while women and their daughters are at the lowest strata. This has marginalized and reduced them to mere recipients of developmental programs.

The study findings revealed great gender disparity in the numerical composition of policy makers based on gender as well as in equity of distribution of administrative roles, duties and functions. Numerically, out of ten policy makers only three are women. The difference in numbers limits or controls contributions of the women policy makers to major policy decisions and on issues that concern women and girls as learners as well as other allied female actors like teachers. Harding (1986 cited by Carl, 1988) stated "there may be a link between the ways in which women think and act and their ability to be more responsive to the needs of other women" (p.112). It is possible that the women administrators will be more responsive as well as sympathetic with the female learners by way of being more supportive in formulating policies and solutions to their concerns if their number as policy makers was equal to that of the men.

The numerical majority of male policy makers as compared to the females is a disadvantage for effective communication between the leaders and the led for sourcing information as well as eyewitness evaluation of performance of programs (Frohock, 1979). Male policy makers as a majority are limited by cultural religious norms and principles from communicating with the women and girl learners directly. The cultural social practices for female Fulbe, restrict their communication with non-related males often regarded as strangers. As a result, feedback or more information on their perception of and reaction to implementation issues cannot be received.

Significant notice was made of the lack female policy makers in key leadership or chief executive positions at the commission and on state school boards. Sensitive positions such as finance and recruitment, enrolment, teacher transfers are all as well occupied by men who also occupy other management planning and decision areas. The lack of women in any of the positions controls their representation of ideas that would favor their gender.

The politics of financial management in states is also gender biased. Only male administrators are in charge of finance in all the state controlled bureaucracies. Most times they are biased in the disbursement of funds to female heads or colleagues for the execution of activities involving women and girls such as workshops. This was pertinent at Jangore, September 2000. I observed the delay and cuts of requested funds to the female administrative heads in charge of women adult literacy programs at the commission for the workshop. The effect of this action contributed to the women's negative reaction, demotivation and reduced level of participation and even absenteeism. From my observation and what I gathered from the few women heads, men in charge do not have absolute confidence in them for expenditures. The men believe they need to be watched over through extra supervision. Additionally, research on nomadic women and girls by the centre in charge of such function has been under funded and in some years funds have not been made available. The centre is headed by a female, the only female charge with related academic activities on research of nomadic women and girls, mentioned to me how research studies have been suspended as a result of inadequate funds as compared to similar centres headed by males and charged with similar functions that have regularly been funded to run their programs. If the policy is to achieve any effective feedback on implementation reactions of the female learners it is only through research by the female researchers that substantial feedback can be obtained. Hence, there is a need for the leadership to set aside sentiments of gender biases to allow achievement of implementation objectives.

There exists gender disparity between the numbers of female and male teachers as noted from the data. Compared to urban schools, female teachers are very few in number in most nomadic rural schools. Factors associated with such a deficiency are as a result of traditional principles of patriarchy on the place of women in the institution of marriage, educated or uneducated in northern Nigerian society, and observed in the official civil service laws which direct teaching as a service. The civil service regulations stipulate that married female teachers (Fulbe or non-Fulbe) are posted or transferred to where their spouses are, and in most cases their spouses work in urban areas, hence this affects the number of female teachers available to rural nomadic schools.

Second, officers in charge of placement and transfers in all local government school boards are men. They are often manipulated through bribes and relationships by single non-Fulbe teachers for the favor of an urban placement or posting in order to avoid the harsh rural conditions as well as the opportunities to engage in other income generating activities (which are common among teachers so as to support the meager salaries). I gathered that sometimes these female teachers organize a "marriage of convenience" by tendering fake marriage certificates as well as male figures (like relations) as spouses to get away from rural transfers or postings. Other female teachers of the same category "buy" (bribe) their stay from the officers in charge of placements and transfers against rural postings. These attitudes of corruption of officers (who are mostly males) are factors inhibiting the availability of female teachers for nomadic schools.

Third, the dearth of female teachers in northern schools which affects the nomadic school is partly associated with the effects of the federal government's policy of eradicating teacher training high schools throughout Nigeria in support of the National Policy on Education's minimum standards for serving teachers and applicants as the National Certificate of Education (NCE) instead of the Grade II teacher's certificate (acquired from a six year teacher training high school). The elimination of the teacher training high school affected the northern states most because most girls and married women attended Women Teacher's Colleges, which had boosted female teacher numbers in northern schools.

Fourth, the patriarchal unwritten principles reinforced by religious ideals and demands of nomadic heads of households has resulted in a preference for Muslim female teachers. This sex discrimination which has additionally contributed to an inadequate female teacher supply as compared to the demand. Women learners in camps like Yola Fulbe and Wuro Hamza mentioned how they tried to hire a non-Muslim female teacher but were denied by their spouses and community leader for fear of the teacher conscientizing or converting them to another religion.

The gender crisis of demand and supply of female teachers for nomadic schools can be minimized by engaging the services of visiting teachers [specifically females]. Ezeomah (1981) recommended that

> Visiting teachers may not necessarily be members of the nomadic group. Their role will be, among other things, to prepare teaching materials and make them available to residential and assistant teachers, and supervise the work done by both learners and teachers. (p.4)

Additionally, the services of female residents as volunteer or substitute teachers can be employed. Ezeomah (1981) added

> Some of the nomadic children [girls inclusive] who have learnt to read and write should be selected and given further training to gain competence in literacy and numeracy for effective teaching. Such training should be provided at teacher Resource Centres for those of them who have either dropped out of primary school or completed primary school training, while those of the nomadic children still in school and who have shown greater achievement than others may be given further training by residential teachers and used in peer group teaching cadres. (p.5)

The strategy of involving these girls as pseudo instructors will assist in reducing the problem of female teacher provision as well as assist continuity of learning in the absence of the real teachers. The effect on the girls is that their participation as instructors will boost their morale to more community involvement. Additionally, it will reduce the problem of girls' dropping out of school by encouraging more functional roles of teaching than spending their time awaiting marriage proposals as expected in their tradition.

Study findings also revealed disparities on the distribution of incentives between female and male teachers by the local government and the management of the commissions. Female teachers are not provided incentives equal to their male counterparts as encouragement to stay on the job. This was evident in the distribution of means of transportation such as bicycles and scooters to teachers, which were meant to facilitate their attendance and more commitment to their jobs. In most nomadic schools visited with a sizeable number of female teachers, only the males received such items. Such discrimination as indicated by my participants contributed to female teachers quitting their jobs, while those that chose to remain became generally disillusioned and un- committed to regular attendance and work. The need for equitable treatment of both sexes in the profession not only enhances good working relationships but promotes acceptance and encourages to other female teachers to accept appointments and posting to nomadic rural schools. Tilde (2001) added, "Teachers should be given ample encouragement by giving them good wages, welfare. In the rural schools because of the terrain of the roads it is realistic for the government to assist all teachers with bicycles and machines [scooters], to ease their transport system" (p.6). This statement emphasized all teachers, regardless of whether the women can manipulate the means of transportation or not. As indicated by a female teacher, the reason why they were not given was because they do not know how to ride and she added "our husbands can use them to convey us". In any case, if the management in charge of distributing incentives is culturally sensitive and will emanate justice and equity to its civil servants, the female teachers would have been given incentives associated with their female skills like sewing or knitting machines as substitutes for scooters and bicycles.

This disparity of distribution is a cultural phenomenon in northern society and particularly amongst the nomadic Fulbe. Some parochial reasons for denying the female teachers the transportation incentives like the bike and scooters was associated with assumptions that it is unrelated to their sex expected oriented skill. In the Muslim north, women are not expected nor allowed to ride bicycles nor scooters; it is regarded as a man's skill. Additionally, the manipulation of such means of transport is regarded as exerting energy, which the male folk consider women in such communities do not possess. Within the tenets of their religion (especially amongst the fundamentalist or reformed camps) they envisage that if women are allowed to ride through manipulation of the objects, parts of their bodies will be exposed which is prohibited and unacceptable as they are suppose to be in purdah. This religious perception is considered a misconception of what the *Sharia* system is documented to promote. As noted by Mohammed (2001) a religious and social critic from the north, "Sharia as a system that promotes equitable distribution of wealth, justice and opportunities. The proper practice of sharia as ordained by Allah (SWA) is a solution" (p.6).

Head teacher leadership is gender biased in all nomadic schools. I noted that the dominance of men as heads of schools reinforces in the norms and tradition of patriarchy the direction of learning and school management. This is evident in their leadership style as heads of schools. The disciplinary management in and outside the classroom is gender coded. Unruly behaviors of girls are often reprimanded by male teachers with an assertion of authority for a parental orientation which extends the values and orientation of their community and ethnic group into school management. Additionally, the monopoly of men in school headship influences their preference for boys' leadership in the classroom as monitors and leaders of group-oriented tasks, and in the school as head boys. This preference reflects the cultural expectation of the female roles and duties as distinguished from the males being carried into the school system.

Within the Nigerian society, spontaneous reflection of a nomadic Fulbe is referenced to as "he" rather than "she". Specifically within the nomadic colloquial and even the literary Fulfulde language of both the eastern and western dialects, the monopoly of the masculine references meant to apply to both sexes is visible and constant. This observation is significantly referenced in the text material on activities and illustrations that favor boys and men rather than women and girls. This strongly affects girls' identities in the context of learning, a more non gender biased curriculum content reforms are warranted.

The demands of men on what women and girls should learn from the education programs are within the orientation of cultural and religious expectations and directed to effective womanhood as "good mothers and wives". Hence, most household heads demand female oriented disciplines such as food and nutrition and religious studies, amongst others. These demands have controlled the subject contents of the curriculum especially the primers for women's literacy. A Muslim philanthropist and cleric in charge of an educational vocational training centre *Al-Iqsa* commented on the literacy curricula for Muslim women [as Fulbe women]:

> Taught at centres are vocational skills which will assist the women in running the home on skills such as knitting, sewing, home economics and management and Islamic studies, not only to enable them practice the trade according to the dictates of Islam but also to equip them to know how to live peacefully with their husbands in accordance with the teachings of the religion. (p.1)

The positive response to the demands of the heads of households encourages the men to allow the women access and participation by granting their requests in the curriculum. This idea is supported by most multilateral organizations. One report on girls' education in tropical Africa by FAO (1994) advised that

> Where customary beliefs oppose women's education, it seems only fair to concentrate teaching on those matters, which are not obviously characteristics of females. It is certainly better to have a school for sewing and cooking than no school at all. A teacher may well give the girls a smattering of maths, science, hygiene etc. as they learn better to cook, keep the house tidy, mind the children and contribute to rural progress. (p.13)

To allow women access to and participation in schooling the social demands of the people concerned should be compatible with the entire curriculum content.

There is gender disparity of distance radio education curriculum programs between males and female group listeners. There are more radio education programs for men especially on animal husbandry and livestock education than for women. This is attributed to the aggressive demands of the male nomads through their strong economic and political association of MACABAN. Women do not have a national association like that of the men to voice their demands for more courses as well as for programs of topics other than domestically oriented. Also they lack partner support from their spouses to speak out on their behalf on such issues ((Dakata, 2000).

Additionally, the female literacy primers as well as the radio education curricula had less scientific content as compared to that of the males. The contents recycled the women's domestic domains of cookery, etc. This I consider good but boring for the women. They need more scientific curricula that will challenge their cognitive and affective learning capabilities towards effective reflective thinking, as is done in other women's literacy classes for non-Fulbe women. The study also identified the need for curricula reforms attuned to scientific subject innovation on more health/science integrated subjects.

The lack of equity between male and female curriculum planners for the nomadic curriculum was noted in the study. Only two women are officially involved as resource persons and specialists in curriculum planning as well as in the design and choice of text materials. Their scarcity in numbers affects ability to influence the biases against women and girls, which I observed in some illustrations of primary texts and adult education primers. On the other hand, very few female Fulfulde teachers were consulted for linguistic assistance in curricula issues and are often reluctant to be involved because they believe the society expects them to be more involved in teaching that extra paper work that is monopolized by men. In order to increase participation of women in curriculum development, the officers should not emphasize literate women alone especially in the area of language and the curriculum; very elderly women's in-depth knowledge and skills can be tapped. It is easier for the male curriculum planners to communicate with these women since it is culturally approved, thereby including indigenous information with a specific orientation to females.

The study identified some inevitable shortcomings of the implementation model of the nomadic education policy (see figure 3) especially on the lack of interaction of strategy and implementation based on the model in "making allowance for change" and "allowing interaction of inputs to produce outputs". The commission does not have financial contingencies that will absorb the changes in the nomadic communities such as their changing political environment and the additional finances needed for instructional materials, research, and workshops, amongst others, for the learning programs of male and female nomads.

The study noted that access to female schooling in nomadic communities like that of the Fulbe are culturally decided by male heads of households, and such decisions are considered as a further assertion of male authority on females' involvement in the school system. The decisions whether to access schooling are cultural based on variables such as sex expectation and gender roles as well as cost benefits of schooling for girls, others include norms of socialization of girls about religious observations also control their affective domain of learning especially in classroom interaction between peer groups and teachers outside their own gender. Nomadic girls schooling has been split between cultural values and effective classroom participation as related to performance. Girls in primary schools suffer deficient classroom interaction with regards to teacher-pupil interaction and male-female peer interaction in and outside the class. Studies have indicated that the nature of classroom interaction in most African schools including nomadic schools inclusive at all levels possess cultural elements of gender interaction. Nomadic girls are traditionally brought up in a very shy manner. The index of female socialization based on "pulaaku" demands a demonstration of prudence and shyness in verbal and nonverbal expressions "to be seen not to be heard" as appropriate behavior. The extensions of these social values are carried to the classroom environment. Webb and Webb (1985 cited in Brenner, 1998) testified that

> The norms of appropriate behavior in schools made larger demands upon girls than boys, as special challenges are posed on girls in terms of there general adjustments, relations with teachers, and peers. Girls are often reluctant to speak in class in lower classes while they isolate themselves in higher classes. (p. 138)

These norms of behavior in the classroom environment are most evident with the presence of a male teacher. The girls feel more relaxed and less controlled and intimidated with teachers of their gender. From my observation and their responses they feel that male teachers serve as constant "checks" and are pseudo "policemen" to their fathers and other significant males of the community.

Gender peer pressure also controls the participation of girls in the normal classroom interaction. Boys assume the lead roles in everything in and outside the class a behavior which is acceptable in the culture. They constantly bully the girls and reprimand them to "behave like a girl" or "you are not supposed to do or say this, You are a girl!" Often these remarks and attitudes of the boys to the girls of the same peer group in classrooms are unchecked by teachers, specifically male teachers, who often do not see such actions as offensive but consider it as the norm. Use of such a classroom management style on peer relations in the class generates negative feelings and emotions in the girl-child which may result in her lack of self confidence and low self esteem thereby affecting regular attendance and performance.

There is also disparity in the running of the radio education of broadcasts. They are more suitable for men than women especially those of the traditional camps who are still involved in sales of dairy products as programs are often broadcast at the time of their marketing thereby limiting their full participation. According to Oxfam Canada and the United States' principle on adult literacy cited by Diven (1998), "recognition should be made for working women in planning educational activities, full consultation with women, class content and timing should be at the discretion of women, not the trainer or project financiers" (p.86). It is my opinion that educational planners should take cognizance of women's work, in relation to their social and economic activities. On adult literacy programs for women in Africa, Diven (1998) added that "training is time consuming and should be organized during parts of the day, and seasons of the year when women have more leisure for training" (p.86).

Various disciplines and subjects of the curriculum in formal education have been gender coded or stereotyped to meet the women and girls' needs and roles in the private sector. The culture uses gender disparity in the choice and participation of women and girls in the curriculum. Traditional education based on unwritten curricular expectations is no exception as noted by Assie-Lumumba (1998):

> Each sphere corresponds with some specific type of education. The education of the female population was designed and organized for the needs of a life that revolves around the domestic sphere. The transfer of this conception into African social conditions was one of the most eloquent testimonies of the irrelevance of European education to African societies, for this type of education is the result of European, not African historical process. (p. 534)

This approach is rooted in the traditional education system like that of the Fulbe. Nomadic women and girls are taught and required to learn skills of milking, hair plaiting, child care and nursing, ethics and general knowledge concerning motherhood, while the boys concentrate on herding, climatic and environmental education as well as general ethics. Discrimination of curriculum content in the traditional education of the Fulbe was based on needs of the Fulbe society. The introduction of formal education and the participation of the Fulbe women and girls marked the continuation of the differences. In the school system, culture demands an extension of their domestic duties as a base for choice of subjects. Females were stereotyped to study domestic subjects. Subjects like the sciences, and mathematics are labeled masculine oriented whilst home economics, languages, social studies are characterized as female (Brenner, 1998; Cornway et al., 1995; Imam, 1983; Okeke, 1984 Stromquist, 1995, 1998). This approach in most formal schools is a transfer of traditional roles and expectations of the girl-child from the home to the school environment; the implication is that the girl's advancement and aspirations to the so called masculine subjects is controlled if not prohibited.

Most educational policies and statements have been biased against women and girls' needs and aspirations (Moser, 1991). The needs of women differed in the traditional and reformed camps. I observed the discrepancies between the actual needs of women and the assumed or documented needs of women in the policy as implemented by the commission. Women's needs, perceptions and aspirations for the curriculum content towards economic empowerment were not in agreement with what is taught to them. In the traditional camps women desired more modern skills that will enhance the quality of dairy products to withstand market competition by improving the quality of milk products through proper packaging and distribution procedures. In their comments in the Nomadic Education News (1998) on the impact and relevance of education program some women stated: " we need to learn improved ways of milking, preservation of milk and commercialization of the milk products, healthcare in general, and nutrition of the program in literacy classes" (p.16).

Women in the reformed camps who by nature of their settlement are closer to urban settlements and a modern approach to their domestic income generating activities of dairy management expressed the need to have modern skills of income generation to compete with other neighboring non-Fulbe women. They expressed to me the need to learn more skills on pomade making and soap production for their usefulness to their community and environment. Ezewu and Tahir (1997) noted that "curriculum must be geared towards maximization of skills and environmental contingencies for the realization of economic self sufficiency and socio-political emancipation" (p.158). Monkman (1998) stipulated that education or training project must be based on actual needs and perceptions of the learners. In addition she categorized literacy needs and interests of women into two types, strategic and practical. Strategic interests are those directed at altering unjust social relations and structures that disadvantage women; with reference to participants of the study, cultural strictures on household decisions concerning access to education are examples inhibiting them, while practical gender interests reflect the needs that are basic to life such as food, shelter, clothing and the like.

Teachers' pedagogical approaches are carefully selected to meet the sexual differences as is done in the informal educational system. Content elucidation by teachers is controlled in some subjects. Male teachers cannot completely express themselves in some topical issues like reproduction and parts of the body in health science and other related topics. Such issues are culturally regarded as sacred and are never discussed between the same sex in private let alone in public between the opposite genders. It is considered the moral cultural aspect of "pulaaku". In a situation like this, male teachers are forced to use the lecture method throughout with no questions entertained either from pupils or from the teacher.

The lack of free classroom interaction has an immense influence on the direction of pedagogy and female participation in the classroom. Girls as a significant minority who are attending classes with such topics taught by a male teacher exit themselves in the cover of visiting the washroom or leave the class completely. Their exit is interpreted as a sign of respect to the teacher as well as observing the mores of the culture. The effect of their action makes teaching non-participatory as well as reducing their classroom relationship with the teachers. Bhasin (1983) commented that teaching methodology should be participatory and democratic; it should increase self-confidence, self-respect, articulation and analytical skills of the participants. There should be a two-way relationship between teachers and students. She further reiterated that gender should be the central focus in education and training must develop appropriate and relevant strategies to address those needs. Various authors (Stromquist, 1998; Monkman, 1998) as well as a report of IDRC Canada (1991), reiterated that active participation of women and girls should involve feminist teaching strategies including consciousness raising, class discussion, journal writing, collaborative work groups and so on. In addition, the use of feminist appropriate pedagogy and teaching strategies is integral to the sustainability and participation of women and girls in schooling. A feminist approach to pedagogy helps them to locate themselves in terms of their socio-economic and political reality.

The teaching style of teachers in most nomadic schools and women's literacy classes are gender sensitive. Differences in the sex of learners control further adoption of a variety of teaching strategies. From my observation and information I gathered from female teachers, the grouping method is mostly used along with the lecture method. In subjects like physical education and the sciences, tasks are examined and solved by learners in groups based on their gender. According to them, these approaches tally reinforces their traditional socialization as well as encourages student centred learning. Fulbe cultures emphasize grouping together of same sex females, which is extended into the school set up, thereby reinforcing the indigenous learning technique.

Findings of this study along with others have indicated that nomadic girls are more comfortable with female than with male teachers. This preference is purely cultural as females of the Fulbe nomadic tribe are expected to relate more and better with their gender than with the opposite sex, the reason for this is to minimize and control sexual overtures that may surface as a result of male interaction. Hence, to improve female classroom interaction of nomadic girls, more female teachers need to be employed, as well as female visiting teachers who can assist by replacing missing female teachers need to be hired. Female teachers serve as role models as well as facilitate girls into more interactions in the classroom. Studies conducted (Anderson-Levitt, 1998 cited by Bloch, 1998) on the role of female teachers in girls education observed "female teachers make schools more hospitable for girls. They serve as motivators and role models to female learners thereby sensitizing them into further learning and career building" (p.109).

Skill development workshops for women place little emphasis on indigenous knowledge thereby ignoring the principle of learning from deductive to inductive knowledge. The World Bank (1985) suggested, "Curriculum should incorporate the dynamics of the generation of knowledge such as induction and deduction, verification and appreciation" (p.32).

Additionally, women and girls involved in the arts of marketing of dairy products and food hawking demanded more English language study to support them in effective communication between them and their customers. Women and girls made more demands for the use and learning of the English language in order to fit into the larger Nigerian society for personal, official and public communication as well as for their safety and the promotion of self-confidence and personal enhancement. Monkman (1998) added that the use of the language of preference in learning for women increases their self esteem and , confidence in their ability to operate effectively in new social situations.

The failure of the use of Fulfulde as a medium of instruction as stipulated in the policy Blue Print in nomadic schools and literacy centres with non Fulfulde speaking Fulbe is attributed to the typical results of a pastoral cultural life of regular migration. In some camps their movements to their present sites has resulted in the loss of their language (Fulfulde). As mentioned in previous chapters, such movements are totally an all male decision which affects women and their children negatively in schooling issues.

Hence, women literacy centres and schools with no knowledge of Fulfulde and no available Fulfulde teachers do not use the Fulfulde language for instruction as stipulated in the Blue Print.

The literacy program for women as noted from this study despite certification has less impact in terms of job placement of especially the elderly Fulbe women who desire and are permitted and encouraged by their spouses especially in the reformed camps like other tribal women into the local government women departments such as the home economics, food and nutrition and even as rural literacy resource personnel or primary health support staff. The fear of the women concerning the end result of their literacy was expressed to me by a woman who had completed the "Basic Literacy Program" in Mazat Rop, the pioneer camp of the program, a settlement closer to Barkin Ladi, a local government head quarters she asked me *Malama [referring to me as teacher] is it true that I will not be able to secure a job with this certificate?*

With the girls more often it has been observed that most of them terminate their educational pursuit within the elementary level with little upward mobility to secondary education [as the nomadic policy did not specifically prepare for this]. The policy does not have a future plan to encourage further education of girls to secondary and teacher training schools. This shortcoming of the policy to some extent contributes to girls' drop out from schooling in both lower and higher levels as well as destroying their future academic aspirations.

The findings of this study reveal that policy makers' expectations centred more on empowerment of women and girls than their total development. I noticed some participant involvement, and more knowledge by women of their political rights as members of the electorate has been achieved through their participation in literacy classes. I regard this as empowerment, aimed at consolidating, maintaining or changing the nature of distribution and direction of power (Bookman and Morgan 1988:4 cited by Hausman, 1998). Women are further empowered by the changes to their health habits, food and nutritional attitudes of their male and female children as mothers as well as their adoption of the natural (Billings method) family planning method away from the use of charms and amulets. Additionally, the diploma disease present in Nigerian society as a means of increasing self-esteem in the society has also affected the Fulbe women who had obtained the "Basic Literacy Certificate". Their certification not only increased their self-esteem but also earned them respect from their peers, family members and indeed improved their relations with spouses who are proud of them.

The study noted that education has further economically empowered them in terms of better management of their finances in monetary transactions in both traditional and reformed camps. However, the degree of freedom of women's involvement in the indigenous trading skills was dependent on community ideals or changes. Teenage women, mothers and girls in the reformed camps were denied their native rights of trading in the local markets by the male folk based on religious principles. Regardless of these limitations, the study has identified that economic empowering skills have had positive effects on the development of women and girls as self-reliant as well as financially independent as compared to other neighboring non-Fulbe women.

The research findings have ascertained that women and girls are interested in the pursuit of western education regardless of the socio-religious pressure mounted on them. Additionally, education has had a positive effect to their social developmental life style as well as improved their economic knowledge to be self reliant and empowered women. Furthermore, more administrative negotiation or dialogue between the policy makers and male nomadic heads of households as well as the *Ardos* or community leaders as part of the implementation strategy of the commission will increase access and participation of female nomads involvement in western education.

Chapter 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Major Findings

Historically, few studies or research on the issue of female education in Muslim north have been undertaken by northern female educationists in Nigeria. Specifically there has never been a study on nomadic Fulbe women and girls' involvement with western education especially from a female researcher having experience in nomadic Fulbe culture; this study is the first of its kind. Indeed, all policy makers who participated in the research design confirmed this. Hence, government and stakeholders are enthusiastic about the study because of its novelty and uniqueness; they consider it an area of great policy concern for further policy innovation, extension or renovation (Nachiamas, 1979) based on the study recommendations. It is my believe that as an "insider" that the study recommendations will serve as a voice for the nomadic Fulbe women and girls.

This chapter provides a general overview of the study, a summary of the major findings and a discussion and conclusion. The focus of this qualitatively oriented study was on an analysis of Nigeria's Nomadic Educational Policy and its impact on Fulbe women and girls' social and economic development. The study was organized around thematic research questions: First, expectations of and assessment by the policy makers of the policy implementation outcomes; Second, on implementation factors that affected the women and girls accessibility and participation in the program; Third, the issue of relevance and appropriateness of the programs to the needs and aspirations of women and girls was explored; Fourth, considering the expected outcomes of the policy the actual or observable outcome of the program on the women and girls was pursued.

The research design was based on individual and focused group interviews, observation, official government documents as well as photographs and video coverage of participants' voices and participation in activities related to the research problem. Data analysis was based on narratives of participants' voices using first a generic policy analysis model and then the Gender Educational Policy Model (1998) matrix developed by Forum for African Women Educationists.

The policy makers' assessment of their expectations and the outcomes of the program, was that the program has had a tremendous positive impact on women and girls. Most importantly, they claim that the policy implementation has successfully conscientized the nomads to the pursuit of western education. This was demonstrated through the nomads' project initiatives by constructing school buildings, hiring as well as community members volunteering as teachers (this was observed in the field work in camps like Fulbe Paiko, Yobe Fulbe and Nyamuru). Furthermore, the policy makers reiterated that the objective of the policy for social and economic empowerment has been achieved, this was further supported by the different participants in the issue of outcomes of the program. Hence, they are all satisfied so far with regards to the policy outcome. Nevertheless the policy makers' administrative style and gender restrictions inhibit the top management from insights of the learners' reactions on implementation issues which question their claim of a successful outcome. Additionally, it was noted that serving policy makers (especially the males) interviewed responded in support of the polity which they are serving; this I consider was due to their civil commitment or allegiance to the government as well as a means of preventing being intimidated or even removed from office if contrary responses were made.

On implementation, the evidence of the data identified that accessibility of the women and girls is monitored by controlled and uncontrolled variables. The causes of lack of accessibility of women and girls to schooling are associated with controlled variables, which are culturally and religiously motivated. They include the enforcement of men's social and religious principles on their females, through early marriage, economics of education, domestic demands of the females as well as government policy implementation issues, i.e., mergers of learning centres and schools, abolition of mobile schools, leading to the creation of distance for the learners and families which are socially unacceptable to the nomads. Furthermore, uncontrolled variables such as natural environmental factors i.e. drought and flood, as well as their indigenous life style have greatly influence the full participation of female schooling amongst the traditional Fulbe group.

Factors related to implementation on relevance and quality of curriculum and instructional content revealed that earlier assumption as stated on the Blueprint that all nomadic camps have the same socio-economic orientation, needs and aspirations of women and girls as of the time the curriculum was designed have presently changed. The study findings noted the incompatibility between the demands and desires of the women and girls in their responses from the reformed and traditional camps on the knowledge they desire from schooling in literacy classes, workshops and the classroom interaction of the girls. Furthermore, lack of sufficient and steady provision of instructional materials by the administrators frustrate teachers' efforts of teaching as well as control female learners' motivation and commitment to classroom participation.

Additionally, the relevance of language policy on Fulfulde as a medium of instruction is not applicable to all grazing camps. The women and girls from their participation in the study reacted by demanding more instruction on the use of a modern language (English) along Fulfulde (for those who still speak) for social, political and economic involvement in the wider Nigerian society. Women and girls particularly as well as the teachers, have never been consulted on their views of the design of curricular content especially in the newly Interactive Radio Education programs, and the literacy women's primers were developed solely by experts who are mostly men. This creates a gap between their learning involvement as well as comprehension of the contents.

Pedagogical strategies of teachers vary from subject to subject, and are gender guided by the teacher's sex taking cognizance of the culture, i.e., indigenous process of learning by sex. The female instructors as found from the study are a source of encouragement for the women and girls in schooling; this they constitute a primary inspiration to their continuity of learning.

The major expected outcome of the policy literacy and numeracy has been accomplished to some extent. The level of total success varies from camp to camp. In most reformed camps women had accomplished the first literacy level and have proceeded to post basic level, which is a higher level with more subjects and the use of more English language e.g., at Rakauna and Mazat Rop. The outcome on social and economic empowerment has generally been achieved as stated by the girls and women. However more needs to be done on the inclusion of curricular content that will be for their social and economic benefit especially in areas of education, for example, the use of simple technology in labor management and poverty alleviation educational programs, amongst others (Asare, 1986).

Gender issues play a prominent part in the management as well as utilization of the policy programs by the women and girls. These are all controlled by culture and traditions. The input of females is either ignored or unattended: As administrators they are sidelined; as students they are stereotyped to specific curriculum subjects and in classroom interaction and leadership; As teachers in the minority their opinions and suggestions are never sought; As community members, their associations are weak and have no voice to seek redress on educational or socio-political and economic concerns. These gender disparities are centred on patriarchy which makes the upward mobility of females, whether educated or uneducated, rigid as the ladders to upward mobility are controlled by men especially in educational policy sectors.

Conclusions

I seek to draw conclusions of the study with the ideas of Paolo Freire (1970) who believed that the goal of literacy is not adapting people to fit into the society, but rather helping people become aware of inequalities and contradictions in income and social structures to bring about social change. Hence it is my ultimate conclusion that the nomadic women specifically need non-formal education that "will provide them with skills and knowledge to execute their substantial reproductive roles (bearing and raising children); be less demanding in terms of time and energy; uplift women's financial autonomy; provide women with productive skills to enable them to enter the market economy in more advantageous conditions than before" (Stromquist, 1994:265). In addition, literacy programs to develop their cognitive level through literacy development (reading and writing), personal development (self-esteem, they need more self-direction) as well as to be socially collaborative in participation and interdependence (Malicky, Katz, Norton & Norman, 1999).

Women's nonformal education for empowerment should be supported through various educational experiences. They include instructional and organizational methodologies, which should be regulated by participants. Fulbe nomadic women need a participatory education approach in a community based literacy program emphasizing sharing power and opinions between themselves, the teachers, and management, based on fundamental assumptions that students are capable of participating as partners, as they challenge conventional wisdom and practices (Fingeret, 1989 cited by Malicky et al, 1999). Monkman (1998) identified non-formal education as having potential for promoting liberation and transformative social change of women in Third World countries, especially in terms of literacy for women.

Literacy for social empowerment in this context is not an individual process but depends on a high degree of collective action (Stromquist, 1996). Women and girls of all ages exercise free interaction and movement in traditional camps as observed with non-

Fulbe customers of all genders without been harassed by spouses. This demonstrates their possession of substantial social empowerment that facilitates multicultural intergration. This is achieved only with collective understanding and improved relationship and understanding between the males and females.

Social empowerment can be advanced amongst the Fulbe nomadic women and girls through the outreach programs in their existing NGOs referred to as multi-purpose centres. These include health education e.g., in Primary Health Care and sanitation and education on water purification. As noted by Mazrui (1991), African women are custodians of water and this basic knowledge can improve their social lives for themselves and for the entire family. Most grazing encampments are far from sources of water. Agarwal et al. (1981) mentioned that a World Bank survey concluded that the highest rate of diarrhea infection is to be found in households furthest away from their water sources (p.81). Health education for nomadic women will assist in reducing several diseases thought as "waterborne" but not affected so much by water quantity as by water quality. These can be controlled because women are managers of water in all households. Women can regain influence through improving their family's health status.

Health status is partly a function of constitutional factors. It is also a function of daily living that includes food and water related behavior, personal hygiene habits, the cycle of work, rest, sexual behavior during and after pregnancies, and the care and rearing children. Many development experts ascertain that the educational level of women has direct consequences for the development of a country, because education is understood to facilitate healthier family members, control family size and generally improve quality of life (Randzio-Plath, 1994; World Bank, 1989, Heward, 1999). Thus transformation of women at the rural level of the nomadic women requires education as a crucial part of the process.

All women agreed that social empowerment has been achieved through literacy programs in areas of health, improving gender relations as well as their independence and participation in voting as expressed by the women.

The concept of development of rural women more often focuses on economic ideals. Stromquist (1996; 1998) categorized economic empowerment as financial autonomy and wider participation of women in the market economy. While Monkman (1998) reiterated it as the

> Ability to earn and control economic resources. Independence in controlling economic resources opens more options for addressing one's interests and often serves to improve one's status in social settings. (p. 449)

Many feminist scholars writing on the function of women's education for economic empowerment believe it should be incremental as well as bring holistic changes transforming them to engage in more productivity thereby addressing further productive concerns.

Training for productive activity should include knowledge and skills that will lead to emancipation from structures in the division of labor that relegate women to the home sphere (Monkman, 1998, Hausmann, 1998). Advocates to this phenomenon state that, productive skills and knowledge should be the focus for training and education related to women's position as workers, and enhances women's ability to generate income often in the informal sector. In addition to this the Nomadic Education policy's distinctive objectives statement as cited by Tahir (1998) attests that "the long time objective will lead to the acquisition of knowledge and skills that will enable them improve their income earning capabilities" (p.19).

The Nigerian situation calls for the intervention of simple technologies to aid rural women traditional female activities like preparation and preservation of food, and fetching of water. These can be achieved through training (Asare, 1976). This approach is in cognizance of the needs and primary focus of the women on their income generation activity.

Significantly the education of girls and women is an asset not a liability as viewed by traditional parents and spouses in most communities in developing countries. Hence, women's education is not only a means of empowerment but also a way of acquiring their basic human rights as well as equality to contribute to their immediate societies (Stromquist, 1998). Next, I consider some basic recommendations to all participants of the study and also to developmental experts, NGOs and multilateral organizations whose intervening policies focus on developmental education for female nomadic populations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations of the study are considered as suggested policy options based on the Gender Educational Policy Model (FAWE, 1998). It is my suggestion that both the general and specific recommendations need to be reviewed by all actors: the educational planners, policy makers, management of the commission, universities serving as research institutions, non governmental organizations, multilateral organizations and their developmental experts and the entire nomadic population to re-assess the development and expansion of educational programs for specifically the cattle and other Nigerian nomads. The general recommendations of this study have been grouped under policy reforms and implementation strategies. In addition, specific recommendations are given for the traditional and reformed camps.

Policy reforms:

(a) Policy reforms should be made based on the "social demand approach" (people centred), for effective educational planning (Soumelis, 1983). This approach is a way to involve people's participation in collaborative decisions on what they desire to learn rather than what the government thinks they should learn. Amongst educational policy analysts in developing countries it is considered a more participatory orientation towards collaborative policy reforms and a tool for effective evaluation of old policy shortcomings. Cohen (1979) advocated for citizen participation in educational policy making; "basically here the notion is to reduce the powers of professionals and increase the powers of the citizens…" (p.62).

(b) The government and indeed policy makers should consider a policy extension (Dye, 1983; Nachimias, 1979) for the continuity of the education of nomadic girls. The policy documented refers only to primary education; it should go beyond it as an urgent concern for further participation of girls in all levels of education. I consider such a policy extension a means of controlling dropout rates as well as monitoring the participation and achievement of the objective of nomadic women and girls in all educational programs. The extension will serve as a guide and motivate them to future career aspirations as they continue in pursuit of further education.

Implementation strategies:

(c) The educational value of the society and input for curriculum development in policy making is dependent on educational research (Hufner, 1983; Soumelis, 1983). Frequent research should be conducted by the Centre for Nomadic Studies at the University of Jos in charge of research on nomadic women and girls. Through this, the effectiveness as well as pitfalls of the policy implementation of the entire programs on the females can be identified as well as possible solutions. Such centres should be provided with more female academic researchers as well as sufficient funds by the commission, and should be supported by the northern states' Women's Commissions and the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs.

(d) Educational planners involved with special types of education such as nomadic education should liaise with the policy officers in charge of the recently promulgated National Women's Policy 2001 concerning curricula reforms on the educational needs and aspirations of nomadic women in particular. Specific modifications of the radio education (considered a more versatile strategy in reaching a greater population of the female nomads) should include more information on specific subjects like "Mother-Childcare Program and Integrated Child Development Service". These subjects as practiced in the Indian radio education (Mani, 1988), are meant to inform, educate and motivate expectant and nursing mothers towards more social empowerment in better health and family living.

(e) In order to fit into the global orientation towards the acquisition of knowledge in science and technology, curricula reforms are needed in the women literacy programs in areas of science in food processing involving their primary skills of dairy management. Women need more knowledge in soft technologies such as manipulating non-complex labor saving machines (Suara, 1995) for dairy processing (such as the ones invented at the Institute of Agricultural Research, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria). Hence, more practical lessons in both literacy face-to-face classes as well as workshops should be emphasized. Commissions should purchase such equipment and decentralize their access to women in various grazing camps.

(f) Further economic empowerment of women should be extended through curricula reforms of the literacy primers. They should be taught more skills and knowledge on income generating activities of their interest to meet their identified interests, needs and aspirations as a group and individuals. Theoretical aspects should be substantiated by workshop teachers and trainers (with clearance by such female teachers with the women's spouses and community heads) through visits to resource centres such as financial institutions like the banks or by inviting female resource persons from such institutions.

(g) The commission should create within the learning sections of radio education in the learning calendar year, in collaboration with UNICEF, radio workshops on various dimensions of motherhood and childcare. Such radio workshops encourage learning through group technique which the nomadic Fulbe women like other indigenous groups of women (Spronk and Radke,1988) appreciate and are more familiar with. This is a way of further conscientizing the women to more social empowerment issues of healthcare and a better standard of living.

(h) The traditional mode of learning through songs and proverbs is cherished by the highly cultural nomadic Fulbe communities, hence, the radio education teaching strategy for the women listening groups should provide variety to learning as well as motivation by engaging in a new delivery style of thematic topics of educational values to be taught in folksongs or proverbs sung by women on air (as was done during the November, 2000 Jangore workshop for nomadic teenage mothers). This method reverses the monopoly of the radio teacher's lecture method approach by making learning student centred rather than teacher centred (Mani, 1988). Interactive Radio Education program planners should consider providing cassettes of such songs and folktales as literacy study primers, which should be made available free or at a very subsidized rate to the nomadic women. By this approach the concept of the indigenous learning method is preserved and promoted by the management, which creates more accessibility and participation in the programs by male and female recipients.

(i) In supplementing learning materials there is the need for creation of a rural library for nomadic girls and women learners. Hassan (1991) suggested the effectiveness of audiocassettes as the most utilized and versatile by the rural women in northern Nigeria. As earlier indicated, all households have radio-cassettes in their homes, hence, the commission should consult with the *ardos* by creating "residential" libraries in all the *rugas* or grazing camps. These could make available audiocassettes and books, stationed for circulation of women through leaders of their cooperating societies, which exist in all the camps regardless of their status of registered or not registered by the local government.

(j) The Monitoring and Evaluation department of the Commission should constantly conduct opinion polls by involving nomadic women who have obtained the basic literacy certificate and girls who have graduated from primary schools and those that are attending secondary schools. Their opinions and experiences about the implementation of the programs should be gathered. This could be done through simple questionnaires (since most officers in the department are males and they are limited by the culture of the people from face to face informal communication) in the language they can best comprehend. Their response should serve as data or basis for policy renovations, extension or innovations of the programs as it affects them. This approach involves the women indirectly in participating in the planning and decision making of programs concerning them (Dakata, 2000).

(k) I recommend the re-training of residential girls by the commission. It should involve primary school graduates awaiting marriage, teenage married women and available secondary school girls as well as teenage divorcees *bazawaras* who have obtained some primary education and focus on basic principles of teaching such as lesson notes and classroom management for a short period. These girls are to serve as substitute teachers in both women's literacy classes and in teaching lower primary classes. The commission and the local government should place them on stipends so that they can be motivated as well as enjoy their job. Engaging the services of these girls and women as "residential teachers" (Ezeomah, 1981) will assist in boosting the female teacher population in nomadic programs, in involving women and girls in the program as well as in motivating other women to aspire to such "job oriented" positions thereby reducing the shortage of Fulbe female teachers.

(l) The commission should undertake the concerns of the nomadic female learners by networking with prominent Muslim women NGOs in the north like *Jamaiyar Matan Arewa* and at national levels such as the Federation of Muslim Womens' Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN). The members of such groups should serve as resource persons by involving nomadic women in workshops and constant visits with an educational orientation. Through their association with such women they can have a voice and also be heard locally and nation wide. Eminent women of these organizations can also fight for the rights of the nomadic women in existing polities both secular and religious and for the advocating of more empowering programs for the nomadic women and girls.

(m) To increase access and participation of more girls in all nomadic communities, the creation of all girls' day primary schools is most commendable. The establishment of such schools removes the nomadic parents' fear of the unknown of their daughters in co-educational institutions as commented by the parents in Ezeomah (1983). Indeed states in the north practicing the *shariah* Islamic governance like Zamfara state have started running such schools Sani (2000). The first lady of the state is in charge of the policy expansion of female education in the state. The commission should take advantage of such policy innovative programs by lobbying for the establishment of such schools for the nomadic populations in those states.

(n) Tallen (2000) reiterated that Nigeria's primary science scheme on science and technology, in conjunction with the federal ministry of education for the Universal Basic Education Scheme, has a special focus on girls' participation. Performance analysis studies of nomadic children learning elementary sciences indicated a high level of performance and interest of the learners in the sciences (as rooted from their traditional science curricula). Hence, policy decisions in the establishment of all girls' primary schools in *shariah* controlled states (Ahmed, 2001) in which a population of nomadic Fulbe girls are involved should adopt the primary science package. By so doing, the women and girls' learning direction on domestic oriented subjects will be shifted to sciences which will provide them with future aspirations and global connections to knowledge.

(o) For the women participants in the study, there is the need for them to be participatory in both economic and social issues at both the national and local levels. This can only be obtained through a strong national association that reflects their indigenous informal economic system of dairy management like their male counterpart (MACABAN). I recommend the formation of a national association involving women and girls of nomadic Fulbe under the name *Kwassam Fulbe Women Association of Nigeria* (literally meaning Nigerian nomadic Fulbe women in charge of milk production). Through such an organized body, their voices can be heard both locally and in the global village thereby distinguishing minority pastoral women of the world. The organization will also serve as a political and economic front for participation in national dialogue or discourses on gender. Hausman (1998) and others (Monkman, 1998; Stromquist, 1996) have reiterated the need for participatory dialogues and critical problem solving of issues concerning the socio-economic, political, cultural and historical context of participants' everyday lives.

(p) Unity of cultures is most often achieved through multiculturalism. School administrators in charge of nomadic schools should encourage enrolment of neighboring non-Fulbe farmers' daughters in the nomadic primary schools. Their presence in the school system will motivate the nomadic girls in frequency of class attendance as well as motivate competition of academic performance between them. Additionally, the schooling ties of these girls will promote religious tolerance and reduce frequency of conflicts between farmers and nomads

(Iro, 2001) whose effects on the family results in migration of nomadic families with an adverse outcome for the schooling of pastoral families' girls and women.

(q) Csapo (1981) identified some social and economic hindrances to girls' education in northern Nigeria and the need for government and traditional leaders to dialogue in order to increase the enrolment capacity of and participation of girls. Indeed, with the recent political atmosphere in the northern states, the reformed nomadic traditional leaders now include the Ardos and the council of *Ulama*. The commission needs to strengthen dialogues with them on issues of access and participation of females to western education. Scholarships should be provided to exceptional, all brilliant girls and daughters of the *Ulamas* and the *Ardos* to reinforce their commitment and serve as motivation to other male heads of households. The executive committee of the Federation of Muslim Womens' Associations Of Nigeria can be considered as female *Ulama* and are women well educated in western education. They should be used by the commission to dialogue about the propagation of western education to female nomadic women and girls with the male nomadic *Ulama*.

Specific recommendations for the traditional camp for the women and girls:

(r) To facilitate further economic empowerment, I recommend that the federal government should enact a "Dairy Policy". This policy will bring official support as well as further recognize and boost the informal activity of the Fulbe women and girls. It is noted in India that the Dairy Policy facilitated more quantitative and qualitative production of dairy products by rural women who are the primary managers of that domain Shiva (1997). This policy if enacted should be more focused on the traditional camps of Fulbe, the Mbororo'en and WoaaDabe women and girls.

(s) Additionally, the federal government should as a matter of urgency return as indicated in the BluePrint of the policy the mobile school system. Through this the partial and total moving nomadic women and girls can have continuity of learning. Where the mobile schools are not visibly appropriate due to environmental hazards as noted from the geographical sites of the nomads, which they consider convenient for their cattle, the mobile collapsible schools should be substantiated and well supported. A teacher or teachers willing to move with the nomads, should be well taken care off through good remuneration by the commission and local school board. This strategy will increase women and girl's participation and access.

(t) To avert obstruction of female class attendance in the traditional camps due to their visits to market centres especially on market days to trade their dairy products. It is my suggestion that the commission and the local government should identify the major market days often visited by these women and enact a rule of closing schools on such days.

(u) To increase more participation of women and girls in these camps, the commission and indeed the local government should consider the use of shift school system for them (Ezeomah, 1983). Classes should begin after their return from market visits and be managed by resident and voluntary teachers (as observed in the Fulbe Paiko camp). This schooling innovation I consider will be more appropriate in supporting them further.

(v) As observed from their demands suggested by the elderly women in these camps on the use of their certificates for job placement with the consent of their spouses, in the local government civil service department involved with women affairs. I recommend that the local government should employ the women who wish to work. This will enable them fill in their quota as well as provide equality of employment opportunity as stipulated in all civil service regulations of all levels in Nigeria.

(w) The demands for more religious education for the women and girls in these camps have been identified in the findings of the study. It is my recommendation that female visiting teachers with both western and Islamic education should be hired to reach more women in purdah. This method is like correspondence learning that will support the radio education listening groups as well as face-to-face literacy classes. Through this strategy women participation will be increased and stabilized learning will be promoted.

(x) The commission through the Monitoring and Evaluation department should Intensify mechanism through checks and balances with the local government school boards continuously to take data of enrolment and graduation at all levels of all nomadic females in schools and literacy centres.

(y) The Monitoring and Evaluation committee should liaise with the traditional rulers and the law enforcement agency and health workers to control girl's withdrawal from school. Appropriate sanctions should be implemented on parent offenders (usually the male family heads) found violating child marriage practices to serve as deterrent to others. Through these mechanisms school drop out rate would be minimized.

Implementation of educational public policies in Nigeria and indeed most African states is associated with the dysfunction of the bureaucratic political system whose adverse effects is the deferment between policy intentions and policy outcomes (Williams, 1983). The Nigerian educational system presently is facing a period of educational expansion amidst unsteady changes from a military to a democratic government whose stability is uncertain, and whose implementation of educational policies is also challenged by the formulation of counter policies, which bring either total obstruction of the earlier ones or submergence of their total existence as a policy, both of which lead to wastage, often the core crisis of education in Nigeria (Nwabueze, 1995). A general comment of most global developmental experts about Nigeria and her social policies is that "it is a nation with excellent plans and planners but with either bad or poor implementation/implementers"

(Nwagu, 1976). Policy formulations are easily made on paper but the implementation of these policies encounter obstructions thereby generating problems. This and other issues were discovered in implementation of the nomadic education policy programs identified in this study.

Regardless of the contingencies of educational implementation differences, individuals of all sexes especially women amongst minority and patriarchal societies believe that upward mobility can be obtained through education as gathered from the data of this study. The benefits of education to this population of women outweighs personal empowerment of whatever ramifications as human beings, but enables them to identify more deeply their concept of self, sort their preferences and choices as well as elevate their low self esteem as they pursue their fundamental human rights to education (El-Hafiz, 2000; UNESCO/UNICEF, 1993). Hence the concern for women and girls' education in northern Nigeria should challenge the ramifications of all developmental programs in all the states regardless of the nature of its polity. This is because the education of women is the education of a nation and indeed the entire human race by virtue of their numerical strength as well as being significant managers of all domestic life in both public and private domains.

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APPENDIX

Definition of Terms

Acculturation: A change that takes place when different cultures interact.

Basic Literacy: A non-formal education provided for adults by the Mass Literacy Commission of the federal republic of Nigeria.

Bridewealth: A form of marriage exchange in which the groom and his kin give goods to the bride's kin.

Endogamy: The rule that one must marry within one's own group (a practice of the nomadic Fulbe).

Ethnobotany: The study of native people's knowledge and uses of plants in their environment.

Fulbe: A term referred to a group of people in Northern Nigeria, they are mostly addressed by the Kanuri of northern Nigeria as Felata. In most German works they are referenced as *Fulbe*. In Gambia the British refer to them as *Fula and* the French call them *Peul in* the Wolof term. However, the people refer to themselves as *Fulbe or Fulani.*

Fulfulde: Language of the Fulani/Fulbe

Fulbe na'i: The word in Fulfulde distinguishing nomad Fulani from other pastoral communities in West African Sahelian regions, especially the sedentary Fulani.

Jangali: Is a Hausa word referred in Fulfulde as *Jangaal*. In Malikki Islamic law it is the tax on livestock, a part of obligatory alms for charitable purposes-Zakat in Arabic and in Fulbe Zakka.

Kuka: This is a major soup ingredients made from dried leaves from the *baobab tree.* Often in northern part of Nigeria it is considered as a major soup ingredient. When made into soup it is referred as *miyan kuka*. Women and girls all over the northern states have the skills of drying and turning it into fine powder by using pistil and mortar.

Kulikuli: It is a brown cake made

MACABAN: Miyyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria. An association formed by the nomads to serve as a forum in addressing pastoral issues as well as a means to government recognition. It is a mediator between the government market forces and the nomads on cattle issues. Membership is exclusively male.

NCC: National Curriculum Conference of 1969; It was the first conference held to redress the educational legacy inherited from the colonialists (Britain) and the orthodox Christian missionaries and Muslim educationists. The conference advocated a unified policy, which led to the establishment and practice of the National Policy of Education (1977).

Nomadic Education: Defined as the informal education provided by the nomadic peoples within their cultural contexts as well as the formal education provided for the nomads by the national and international agencies aimed at promoting the culture of the nomadic peoples and equipping them with relevant knowledge skills to help them develop themselves and their communities (Ezeomah, 1995).

NEP: Nomadic Educational Policy was enacted as a decree 12 December 1986 by the then military government of General Ibrahim B. Babangida. The integrative long and short-term objectives of the policies are derived from the broad objectives of the National Policy on Education. Short-term objectives to the acquisition of basic functional literacy and numeracy, to enable the nomads to be able to read and write those things that affect their civic privileges and responsibilities, occupational roles and general communication. Long-term objectives are the acquisition of knowledge and skills to improve their income-earning capabilities and improve their general standard of living.

NCNE: National Commission For Nomadic Education; a parastatal under the Federal Ministry of Education of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, established by Decree 41, 12th December, 1989 to cater for the educational needs of the nomads, located in Kaduna, Nigeria. The Commission is charged with the following functions, formulate policies and issues guidelines in all matters relating to nomadic education in Nigeria; provide funds for research and personal development for improvement of nomadic education; development of program on nomadic education; provide equipment and other instructional materials, classrooms and other facilities; establish, manage and maintain primary schools in nomadic settlements; determine standard of skills to be attained in nomadic education; arrange effective monitoring and evaluation of activities of agencies concerned with nomadic education; as well as ensure adult literacy of nomadic women for empowerment.

NPE: National Policy of Education (1977) revised in (1981) is an educational policy based on four cardinal objectives. A documentary statement on the 6-3-3-4 system of education for the entire citizens of Nigeria.

NTI: National Teachers Institute, established in 1976 as an institution to train teachers through the distance learning system with regard to training and development located in Kaduna, Nigeria. The institute is involved in the training and selection of nomadic teachers for nomadic schools and literacy centers all over Nigeria.

Pastoralists: A group that is primarily engaged in keeping herd animals (cattle, camels, sheep, goats etc). They either do some farming on the side or line in close contact with farmers.

Patrilineal: A rule that membership in a descent group is through ones father. By extension, such things as inheritance can be patrilineal through male line.

Patrilocality: A post marital residence rule by which the couple lives with or close to the husband's kin (contrast of matrilocality).

Quranic Education: A formal type of education with a schooling system based on the Quranic and the Hadith, for all Muslims from childhood to adulthood starting from age three. It has two levels with the elementary referred as "Koranic or Kuttab" and the higher level as (Ilmi or Madrasa) schools. There are usually more boys than girls in the Koranic schools because of the general attitudes of the society towards girls (Ozzigi and Ocho, 1981).

UPE: Universal Free Primary Education started in 1976 by the federal government of Nigeria. It is a compulsory free education at the primary level for all Nigerian children of school ages regardless of ethnic or geographical origin.

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September 27, 2000

Mrs. L. M. Usman

Dear Madam,

Invitation to attend the 12th Meeting of the Academic and Professional Committee

I am directed to invite you the 12th meeting of the Academic and Professional Committee of the Commission. The meeting has been scheduled as follows:

Date: - 24th October 2000

Venue: - N.C.N.E. Boardroom

Time: - 10.00 a.m.

Thank you very much.

Yours faithfully,

MAUREEN UYANNE,
Secretary

FULBE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA
(FULDAN)

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Reg. No RYC/1795/20/040

PROGRAMME: FULFULDE LANGUAGE PROGRAM NAMED 'DADDO JAURO'EN"

1. 2/7/2000 Discussion on the importance of acquiring both western and Islamic education. A detailed comparative advantage of both. Also the call to all Fulani's to seize the advantage of the universal Basic Education opportunity by sending their children to school for free.

2. 9/7/2000 A brief history of the Fulani's. The importance of fulfulde language to the Fulani – His social, economic and cultural background to our today global village and computer age.

3. 23/7/2000 The role of Islam in the life of the Fulani i.e in regards to his morality and others. Discourse with Islamic scholars.

4. 30/7/2000 The rights of the Fulani citizen in today Nigeria. His political awareness, civil rights etc. Discourse with a lawyer

IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST

1. 6/8/2000 Discussion on health matters – The first stage is to enlighten them on the dangers of H.I.V/AIDS.

2. 13/8/2000 Women and modernity where does the Fulani woman fits in our today Nigeria. Discourse with some prominent Fulani women in Kano. (Question/answer session).

3. 20/8/2000 Modern methods of Agriculture and Animal husbandry. The farmer/grazer problems and possible solution. The ills of migration and transhumance.

4. 27/8/2000 Invitation to some important personalities to discuss on issues that matter to the Fulani's. This should be in the form of a round table discussion named **"Fulbe Forum 2000" (ff2)**.